

Culture and Power

*Tuscany and its Universities
1537-1609*

BY

JONATHAN DAVIES

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE, VOLUME 14

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Culture and Power

Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance

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VOLUME 34



Giorgio Vasari and Jan van der Straet, *Cosimo I Studying the Plans for the Conquest of Siena*. 1563–1565. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio (Salone dei Cinquecento). © 1990. Photo SCALA, Florence.

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To Sarah and Tess

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Florence
24 June 2008

ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

ASF, MdP	Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato
ASP, UdP	Archivio di Stato di Pisa, Università di Pisa
ASS, CG	Archivio di Stato di Siena, Consiglio Generale
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
BUPi	Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa

PUBLICATIONS

DBI	Dizionario biografico degli italiani
MAProj	Medici Archive Project

DATES

All dates are modern style.

CURRENCY

There were three kinds of money that could be used for transfers: the lira (divided into 20 soldi or 240 denari), the fiorino or ducato of 7 lire and the scudo d'oro of 7½ lire. The lira existed as ready money; the fiorino/ducatato of 7 lire corresponded to an actual value of ready money, the so-called scudo or piastra d'argento; the scudo d'oro of 7½ lire did not correspond to a value of ready money and existed only on account.

INTRODUCTION

On the night of 6 January 1537 Alessandro de' Medici, the duke of the Florentine Republic, visited the house of his cousin Lorenzino. Alessandro's motives for visiting are uncertain; a notorious philanderer, he may have been lured by the promise of a woman. What is clear is that a fight ensued during which Alessandro was murdered by Lorenzino and his servant Scoronconcolo. When the city gates were opened the following morning, the murderers fled to Bologna.¹

The murder of Alessandro was the latest in a series of crises which had beset the government of Florence following the French invasion of Italy in 1494.² Since Alessandro died without a legitimate male heir, and since Lorenzino and his brother Giuliano were excluded by the murder, the succession should have fallen to the seventeen-year old Cosimo de' Medici under the terms of an imperial diploma of 1531. Through his father Giovanni delle Bande Nere, Cosimo was descended from the junior branch of the Medici family; through his mother Maria Salviati, the granddaughter of Lorenzo 'il Magnifico',

¹ For Alessandro's life, see Giorgio Spini, "Alessandro de' Medici," *DBI*, Vol. 2, pp. 231–233; Samuel J. Berner, "The Florentine Patriciate in the Transition from Republic to Principato: 1530–1610," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969), pp. 91–123; John K. Brackett, "Race and Rulership: Alessandro de' Medici, first duke of Florence, 1529–1537," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 303–325; Ilaria Domenichini, "Alle origini del principato cosimiano: il ruolo dei segretari attraverso l'analisi e la descrizione dei documenti dell'Archivio Mediceo del principato (1542–1559)," (Tesi di laurea specialistica, University of Pisa, 2006), <http://etd.adm.unipi.it/theses/available/etd-08312006-112012/> (accessed 29 Dec. 2006), pp. 3–11. For Alessandro's murder, see Lorenzino de' Medici, *Apologia e lettere*, ed. Francesco Erspamer (Rome, 1991); Lorenzino de' Medici, *Apology for a Murder*, trans. Andrew Brown, with a foreword by Tim Parks (London, 2004); Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, ed. Michele Sartorio, 2 vols. (Milan, 1846), Vol. 2, pp. 357–361; Bernardo Segni, *Istorie fiorentine dall'anno MDXXVII al MDLV*, ed. Gargano Gargani (Florence, 1857), pp. 313–315; Joyce G. Bromfield, *De Lorenzino de Medicis à Lorenzaccio: étude d'un thème historique* (Paris, 1972); N. W. Bawcutt, "The Assassination of Alessandro de' Medici in Early Seventeenth-Century English Drama," *The Review of English Studies* 56 (2005), 412–423.

² For these crises, see Antonio Anzilotti, *La crisi costituzionale della Repubblica fiorentina* (Florence, 1912); Cecil Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic (1527–1530)* (London, 1925); J. N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic 1512–1530* (Oxford, 1983); H. C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Oxford, 1985).

he was also a descendant of the senior branch of the family. But the succession was not automatic and Alessandro's murder served to highlight divisions inside and outside Florence. Some Florentines, including the followers of Girolamo Savonarola, hoped for the restoration of a popular republican government. In Rome, Venice, Bologna, and elsewhere Florentine exiles sought the removal of the Medici from Florence, as did Pope Paul III, who wished to establish a state for his family in central Italy. The French were hostile to Cosimo and Emperor Charles V was suspicious. The Mediceans themselves were split. On the one hand, a group led by Cardinal Innocenzio Cibo, a relative of the Medici and close associate of the emperor, wanted the election of Giulio, the three-year old illegitimate son of Alessandro, with Cibo acting as regent. On the other hand, a group of oligarchs (*ottimati*) led by Francesco Guicciardini backed Cosimo's candidature. The arrival of Cosimo in Florence on 8 January swung opinion in his favour and the following day Cibo proposed to the *Senato dei Quarantotto* that Cosimo should be elected. Although the proposal was approved with little opposition, Cosimo's position was weak and the *ottimati* sought to exploit this weakness. The *Senato* decided that Cosimo would not have the title of duke; instead he would be merely 'capo e primario della città'. Unlike Alessandro, he would also be obliged to choose a lieutenant or deputy from among the members of the *Senato*. The value of his appanage was not to exceed 12,000 scudi a year, much less than that granted to Alessandro. Finally, apart from the *Magistrato Supremo*, the council outlined in the 1532 constitution, Cosimo was to rule with a secret council composed of leading *ottimati* such as Guicciardini and Francesco Vettori. According to the pro-Medici senator and historian Filippo de' Nerli, Cosimo had been made lord of Florence much as lords of Carnival companies were chosen.³

Thirty-three years later, the situation had been totally transformed. On 5 March 1570 Cosimo was crowned as the first grand duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V in Rome.⁴ Having almost doubled his domain

³ For Cosimo's election, see Elena Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," *DBI*, Vol. 30, pp. 30–48 (pp. 32–33); Domenichini, "Alle origini del principato cosimiano," pp. 13–15. Cosimo was recognised as duke by the emperor on 30 September 1537. For the imperial diploma, see Riguccio Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana sotto il governo di casa Medici*, 5 vols. (Florence, 1781), Vol. 1, p. 15.

⁴ Although the title had been conferred by a papal bull published on 9 December 1569, Cosimo also sought a coronation. The title was not recognised by the emperor until 26 January 1576. For the concession of the title and the coronation, see Lorenzo

with the enfeoffment of the Sienese state by the king of Spain in 1557, Cosimo's coronation celebrated the achievement of the most successful leader in Florentine history.⁵ The gaining of Siena was lauded to the full by official biographers and historians and it is hard to disagree with their judgments. The acquisition was the swift climax of the slow expansion of Florentine control in Tuscany:

...in the name of the Republic its citizens stretched its feet into the sea and lifted its head to Arezzo. But above all it expanded under [Cosimo] in the name of the prince, extending its strong and powerful arms into the large state of Siena, equalling in a few years what others had achieved in decades.⁶

The success was all the more remarkable since Cosimo was the only Italian prince who managed to increase his territory during a difficult period when Italy was 'plundered and torn'.⁷ Moreover, by the time

Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, 16 vols. (Florence, 1800–1808), Vol. 7, pp. 125–132, 142–146; Marcello Barbiana Vestri, *Coronazione del Serenissimo Signore Cosimo Medici... Fatta dalla S. di N.S. Pio V in Roma, sotto di V. di Marzo MDLXIX. Con il viaggio et regia entrata di S.A. in Roma* (Florence, 1570); Elisa Panicucci, "La questione del titolo granducale: il carteggio diplomatico tra Firenze e Madrid," in *Toscana e Spagna nel secolo XVI. Miscelanea di studi storici* (Pisa, 1996), pp. 7–58; and Alessandra Contini, "La concessione del titolo di granduca e la 'coronazione' di Cosimo I fra papato e Impero (1569–1572)," in *Das Reich und Italien in der Frühen Neuzeit/L'Impero e l'Italia nella prima età moderna*, ed. Matthias Schnettger and Marcello Verga (Berlin, 2006), pp. 417–438.

⁵ For the acquisition of Siena, see Roberto Cantagalli, *La Guerra di Siena, 1552–1559: I termini della questione senese nella lotta tra Francia e Absburgo nel '500 e il suo risolversi nell'ambito del principato mediceo* (Siena, 1962) and *I Medici e lo stato senese 1559–1609: storia e territorio*, ed. Leonardo Rombai (Rome, 1980).

⁶ Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. Luciano Scarabelli, 7 vols. (Turin, 1853), Vol. 1, p. 46: "...per opera de' suoi cittadini sotto nome di Repubblica allungò quasi piedi le sue membra nel mare; quasi capo si sublimò in Arezzo, ma soprattutto... quando sotto il suo serenissimo padre col nome di principe si dilatò distendendo le sue poderose e forti braccia nell'ampio Stato di Siena, pareggiando in pochi anni quello che gli altri in molti avevano adempiuto." For Ammirato, see Luciano Scarabelli, "Di Scipione Ammirato e delle sue opere," in Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. Luciano Scarabelli, 7 vols. (Turin, 1853), Vol. 1, pp. 7–42; Rodolfo De Mattei, "Varia fortuna di Scipione Ammirato; Opere a stampa di Scipione Ammirato; Codici di Scipione Ammirato," *Studi salentini* 8 (1960) 352–407; and Rodolfo De Mattei, "Ammirato Scipione," in *DBI*, Vol. 3, pp. 1–4.

⁷ Giovambattista Adriani, *Istoria de' suoi tempi*, 8 vols. (Prato, 1822–1823), Vol. 1, pp. 2, 5: "Considerando alcuna volta meco medesimo le lunghe e gravi guerre, dalle quali alla presente età ed a quella de' padri nostri con armi forestiere è stata depredata e lacerata l'Italia, conosco quasi niuno Principato di lei essere rimasto, che non abbia sentito gran movimento, o fatto mutazione da quel che egli era o di Signoria, o di Governo, o di Stato; e tutti avere scemato molto dell' antica riputazione... rimesso il governo di lei in mano di Principe savio e potente, il quale col valor proprio, e con la forza, e con gli stromenti di lei, e col buon consiglio si ha aggiunto al suo Stato la città di Siena, e quasi tutto il suo Dominio, parte molto grande e buona di Toscana." Adriani dedicated five of the twenty-two books of his *Istoria de' suoi tempi* to the conquest of Siena.

of his death in 1574, it has been suggested that Cosimo had achieved international recognition for ‘a state whose ranking as the most solidly constructed territory of late sixteenth-century Italy was matched only by the Piedmont rebuilt by Emanuele Filiberto.’⁸ The strength of that state could be measured in the wealth of the grand duke which grew steadily until by the early seventeenth century he was considered to be not only the richest man in Tuscany but one of the wealthiest in Europe.⁹

The rise of the grand dukes was not entirely glorious. For all their undoubted success, there were stains on the names of Cosimo and his sons and successors Francesco I (1574–1587) and Ferdinando I (1587–1609). The grand dukes and their families were involved in a number of murders. Indeed, it has even been suggested that Francesco and his wife Bianca Cappello were poisoned on Ferdinando’s orders.¹⁰ Furthermore, Europe’s royalty saw clearly through the glamour of the grand ducal title. Whilst perusing a list of potential brides, Henry IV of France noted of Maria de’ Medici:

⁸ Alessandra Contini, “Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*, ed. Daniela Frigo, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 49–94 (p. 60).

⁹ For the wealth of the grand dukes, see Giuseppe V. Parigino, *Il tesoro del principe: funzione pubblica e privata del patrimonio della famiglia Medici nel Cinquecento* (Florence, 1999).

¹⁰ On 26 February 1548 Lorenzino de’ Medici was killed in Venice on Cosimo’s orders, see Lorenzino de’ Medici, *Apology*, pp. xviii–xix, 21–45. On 22 May 1566 Cosimo stabbed his chamberlain, Sforza Almeni, see Fasano Guarini, “Cosimo I de’ Medici,” *DBI*, Vol. 30, p. 45. Francesco di Cosimo de’ Medici was suspected of involvement with the murder on 26 August 1572 of Piero Bonaventuri, the husband of his lover, Bianca Cappello, see Gino Benzoni, “Francesco I de’ Medici,” *DBI*, Vol. 49, pp. 797–804 (p. 799). On 9 July 1576 Pietro di Cosimo de’ Medici strangled his wife and first cousin Eleonora di Garcia da Toledo because of her alleged adultery with Bernardino Antinori. Pietro may have received help from his brother Francesco. See Gabrielle Langdon, *Medici Women: Portraits of Power, Love, and Betrayal in the Court of Duke Cosimo I* (Toronto, 2006), pp. 171, 176, 178–179, 193. A week later, on 16 July 1576, Cosimo’s daughter Isabella was garrotted by her husband Paolo Giordano I Orsini because of her alleged infidelity with his cousin Troilo Orsini. Again Francesco may have provided support. See *ibid.*, pp. 148–149, 151, 165, 178, 193, 195. In 1583 Francesco was suspected of beating to death an old Jewish woman who had been advising his wife, Bianca, see Benzoni, “Francesco I de’ Medici,” *DBI*, Vol. 49, pp. 802–803. New forensic evidence may confirm the longstanding suspicion that Ferdinando had Francesco and Bianca poisoned in October 1587, see Francesco Mari, Aldo Poletti, Donatella Lippi and Elisabetta Bertol, “The mysterious death of Francesco I de’ Medici and Bianca Cappello: an arsenic murder?” *British Medical Journal* 333 (2006), 1299–1301, <http://www.bmj.com/cgi/reprint/333/7582/1299> (accessed 28 Dec. 2006) and Francesco Mari, Elisabetta Bertol, and Aldo Poletti, *Un giallo di quattro secoli fa. La morte di Francesco I de’ Medici e della sua sposa Bianca Cappello* (Florence, 2007).

The Duke of Florence also has a niece, who is said to be rather pretty, but she comes from one of the minor principalities of Christendom; and no more than sixty or eighty years ago her ancestors were only the leading citizens of their town...¹¹

Even the meaning of the title of grand duke was thrown into doubt when the king of Spain refused to recognise Ferdinando's claim to the Sienese state from 1587 to 1605, although this did not stop Ferdinando from implementing a wideranging reform of Sienese institutions in 1588.¹²

Nevertheless, despite these problems, the Medici continued to advance. Henry IV married Maria on 5 October 1600, ensuring that Medici blood would flow into the royal houses of Europe.¹³ So it was reasonable, two months before Ferdinando's death on 7 February 1609, for the Venetian ambassador to Florence to report that he was one of the most successful princes in Italy.¹⁴

How was this remarkable transformation accomplished? Traditionally grand ducal Tuscany has been viewed through the lens of absolutism. However, since the 1970s Italian historians have begun to challenge this interpretation and their revisionism can be linked to the general debate about absolutism in early modern Europe.¹⁵ Nevertheless, despite this

¹¹ Maximilien de Béthune duc de Sully, *Les économies royales de Sully*, ed. David Buisseret and Bernard Barbiche (Paris, 1970), p. 247: "*Le duc de Florence a aussy une niépce que l'on dict estre assez belle, mais estant d'une des moindres de la chrestienté qui porte tiltre de prince, n'ayant pas plus de soixante ou quatre-vingts ans que ses devanciers n'estoyent qu'au rang des plus illustres bourgeois de leur ville...*" For the marriage, see also Henry Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (Toronto, 2003), p. 223.

¹² Elena Fasano Guarini, "Ferdinando I de' Medici," *DBI*, Vol. 46, pp. 258–278 (p. 265). For Medici rule of Siena, see Elena Fasano Guarini, "Le istituzioni di Siena e del suo stato nel ducato mediceo," in *I Medici e lo stato senese 1555–1609*, ed. Leonardo Rombai (Rome, 1980), pp. 49–62 and Mario Ascheri, "Siena senza indipendenza: Repubblica continua," in *I libri dei leoni: la nobiltà di Siena in età medicea, 1557–1737*, ed. Mario Ascheri (Milan, 1997), pp. 9–69.

¹³ Maria's life is celebrated in a famous cycle of paintings by Rubens which is now in the Louvre. For this cycle, see Geraldine A. Johnson, "Pictures Fit for a Queen: Peter Paul Rubens and the Marie de' Medici Cycle," *Art History* 16 (1993), 447–469 and Sarah R. Cohen, "Rubens's France: Gender and Personification in the Marie de Médicis Cycle," *The Art Bulletin* 85 (2003), 490–522.

¹⁴ Francesco Morosini, "Relazione di messer Francesco Morosini, ambasciatore per la republica di Venezia presso al granduca Ferdinando di Toscana, letta nel Senato, 5 dicembre 1608," in *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ed. Angelo Ventura, 2 vols. (Bari, 1976), Vol. 2, pp. 329–362 (p. 330).

¹⁵ For Italian revisionist views of the grand duchy and the wider debate on absolutism, see Chapter One.

revisionism, many Anglophone scholars persist in an absolutist reading of the grand duchy, as we shall see in Chapter One.¹⁶

In considering reasons for the grand dukes' success, the key part played by their cultural politics has long been recognised. Until recently, the ways in which cultural institutions, practices, and expressive forms mediated relations of power have also been seen in terms of absolutism.¹⁷ The orthodoxy has now been challenged by Domenico Zanrè's study of the Accademia fiorentina and Henk Van Veen's analysis of Cosimo's self-representation in art and culture.¹⁸ However, although they have made an impressive contribution to our understanding, the recent discussions of grand ducal cultural politics have focused almost entirely on Florence, ignoring developments elsewhere in Tuscany. In particular, they have paid no attention to the universities of Pisa and Siena.¹⁹ This is surprising since, as in many societies and in many periods, the universities played a key role in the cultural politics of the grand duchy.²⁰

Founded in 1343, the Studio pisano had a fitful history during the late fourteenth century and closed following the Florentine conquest of Pisa in 1406. For political and economic rather than cultural reasons, Lorenzo de' Medici oversaw the re-establishment of higher education in Pisa in 1473 when most of the university faculties moved there from Florence. But whether the institution was now the Studio pisano or the

¹⁶ John Najemy is a notable exception. His recent discussion of the duchy in the reign of Cosimo shares the revisionist view and also recognises the continuities with the republic, see John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200–1575* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 468–485.

¹⁷ See Chapter Two.

¹⁸ Domenico Zanrè, *Cultural Non-Conformity in Early Modern Florence* (Aldershot, 2004); Henk Th. Van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and his Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, trans. Andrew P. McCormick (Cambridge, 2006).

¹⁹ There is only a brief reference in Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 233 n. 108. The universities are also absent from *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2001). They are discussed in M. P. Paoli, "Le strade del sapere: scuole di comunità, collegi, università, accademie," in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 277–310. But this discussion does not relate them to the wider issue of the grand dukes' cultural policies.

²⁰ The relationship between universities and power has been analysed most famously by Pierre Bourdieu, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, trans. Peter Collier (Stanford, 1988); Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, trans. Laetitia Clough (Cambridge, 1996); David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago, 1997), pp. 189–217; Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu*, rev. ed. (London, 2002), pp. 119–127; Deborah Reed-Danahay, *Locating Bourdieu* (Bloomington, 2005), pp. 37–68.

Studio fiorentino at Pisa has been the subject of debate. Whatever its name, first plague and then the loss of Pisa forced the Studio to relocate to Pistoia from 1478 to 1480, to Prato in 1482, 1486, and 1495 to 1497, and to Florence from 1497 to 1503. It reopened in Florence from 1505 to 1506 or 1507, when it closed again. Following the reconquest of Pisa and the restoration of the Medici, the Studio reopened in Pisa in 1515. It was closed by plague in 1526 and remained shut until 1543, when it was restored by Cosimo I. Under Cosimo and his sons, the Studio pisano enjoyed its greatest period. After Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara it had the largest faculty in Italy and most of these men were non-Pisan. The professors of arts and medicine were particularly distinguished and included such outstanding scholars as Gabriele Falloppia and Galileo Galilei. Although most of the students were Italian, there was a significant foreign presence, particularly from Iberia. As in the late fifteenth century, for the benefit of the Florentine nobility some teaching (particularly of the *studia humanitatis*) was conducted in Florence in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries at what was called the Studio fiorentino.²¹

Established in 1246, the Studio senese was the oldest of the Tuscan universities. As elsewhere, it suffered during the difficult decades of the late fourteenth century. The Sienese responded in 1416 by establishing a residential college, the Casa della Sapienza, which successfully attracted non-Italian students to the city. From the late fifteenth century to the seventeenth century the German nation of students played a particularly important role in both the life of the Studio and the economy of Siena. The Sienese were well-aware of the importance of their university; in 1450 they called it ‘one of the main crowns of our city’ and in 1587 ‘the main splendour of the city’. Therefore, the city’s

²¹ For the history of the Studio pisano to 1609, see especially Angelo Fabroni, *Historia Academiae Pisanae*, 3 vols. (Pisa, 1791–1795); Armando F. Verde, O. P. *Lo Studio fiorentino, 1473–1503: Ricerche e Documenti*, 5 vols. to date (Florence and Pistoia, 1973–); *Storia dell’Università di Pisa*, 1, parts 1 and 2 (Pisa, 1993); Jonathan Davies, “The Studio pisano under Florentine Domination, 1406–1472,” *History of Universities* 16 (2000), 197–235. For a summary, see Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2002), pp. 70–77. For Lorenzo’s motives in supporting the Studio, see Jonathan Davies, *Florence and its University during the Early Renaissance* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 125–142. For the Studio fiorentino versus Studio pisano debate, see Armando F. Verde, O. P., “Vita universitaria nello Studio della Repubblica fiorentina alla fine del Quattrocento,” in *Università e Società nei secoli XII–XVI* (Pistoia, 1982), pp. 495–522 and Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 73. For teaching at the Studio fiorentino from 1556 to 1609, see Appendix V.

councils gave it strong support before and after Cosimo's enfeoffment with the Siennese state in 1557. However, the vitality of the Studio was undermined by the commune's decision in 1437 that every professorship had to include at least one Siennese occupant. By the end of the fifteenth century 90% of the faculty were natives and in the sixteenth century few professors were appointed who did not come from Siena. Moreover, the Florentine domination exposed the Studio senese to direct competition with the Studio pisano. As its reputation as a centre of legal studies declined, Siena introduced innovations such as chairs in medical botany and humanistic jurisprudence as well as the first vernacular language professorship in Europe—for the benefit of the non-Italian students. But the success of these steps was limited and the intellectual provincialism of the Studio senese continued even though it carried on attracting students from beyond the Alps.²²

For the most part, the Studio pisano and the Studio senese have been studied in isolation. However, in 1975 Giovanni Cascio Pratilli published a monograph which discussed the development of both universities.²³ This study is rich in evidence yet it has significant methodological and theoretical weaknesses. Although he discussed them in the same book, Cascio Pratilli consciously kept the 'tales' of the two universities separate. Moreover, he viewed them simply in terms of absolutism. He described the passing of powers from the hands of the student mag-

²² For the history of the Studio senese to 1557, see now Peter Denley, *Commune and Studio in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena* (Bologna, 2006). For the Studio from 1557 to 1609, see Fritz Weigle, "Die deutschen Doktorpromotionen in Siena von 1485–1804," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 33 (1944) 199–251; Giulio Prunai, "Lo Studio senese nel primo quarentennio del principato mediceo," *Bollettino senese di storia patria* 66 (1959), 79–160; Danilo Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena nelle riforme del Granduca Ferdinando I (1589 e 1591)* (Milan, 1970); *I Tedeschi nella storia dell'Università di Siena*, ed. Giovanni Minnucci (Siena, 1988); Giuliano Catoni, "Le riforme del granduca, le «serre» degli scolari e i lettori di casa," in *L'Università di Siena. 750 anni di storia* (Siena, 1991), pp. 45–66; *Le lauree dello Studio senese nel XVI secolo: Registri degli atti dal 1516 al 1573*, ed. Giovanni Minnucci and Paola Giovanna Morelli (Siena, 1992), pp. 271–470; Giovanni Minnucci, "Il conferimento dei titoli accademici nello Studio di Siena fra XV e XVI secolo. Modalità dell'esame di laurea e provenienza studentesca," in *Università in Europa: Le istituzioni universitarie dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni: Strutture, organizzazione, finanziamento*, ed. A. Romano (Soveria Mannelli, 1995), pp. 213–226; *Le lauree dello Studio senese nel XVI secolo: registi degli atti dal 1573 al 1579*, ed. Giovanni Minnucci and Paola Giovanna Morelli with the collaboration of Silvio Pucci (Siena, 1998), pp. 1–151. For a summary of the Studio's history from its foundation to 1609, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 45–56.

²³ Giovanni Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università il Principe: Gli Studi di Siena e di Pisa tra Rinascimento e Controriforma* (Florence, 1975).

istracies into the hands of those who governed. He saw a confrontation between the government, in the person of the grand duke, which strove to absorb every particularism into the centralised concept of the absolute state, and an institution on the periphery, fiercely defending the relics of its old freedoms and privileges.²⁴ Cascio Pratilli's study is among those works attacked by Brendan Dooley, who argued that social control theory cannot be applied to early modern Italian universities.²⁵ But Dooley himself is not without his critics and his description of the theory has been described as a 'caricature'.²⁶

As far as possible, the present study compares the Studio pisano and the Studio senese directly, analysing the similarities and differences in their development and their treatment by the grand dukes. Furthermore, this study is not based on implicit assumptions about the nature of the grand duchy and the cultural politics of the grand dukes. Rather it is founded on explicit discussions of these subjects, discussions which are informed by the last thirty years' research on the grand duchy as well as by the recent revisionist interpretations of the grand dukes' cultural politics.

In order to fully understand the complicated development of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese, it is necessary to analyse first how the grand duchy was built diplomatically, militarily, administratively, economically, and ecclesiastically. Instead of presenting a centralised absolute state, Chapter One shows a complex and confusing system in which princely authority was combined with the traditional forms and local privileges of the 'old' state (*stato vecchio*) of Florence and the 'new' state (*stato nuovo*) of Siena. In addition, the negotiation of power was conducted through cultural forms. The mixture of the old and the new, the republican and the princely is also the theme of Chapter Two, which examines the cultural politics of Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando.

The structures of academic power (the administrators and the grand dukes, the student-universities, and the professors) are analysed in Chapter Three. In line with the discussions of the construction of the grand duchy and the cultural politics of the grand dukes, this analysis reveals the complicated institutional development of the Studio pisano

²⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁵ Brendan Dooley, "Social control and the Italian universities: From Renaissance to Illuminismo," *The Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989), 205–239.

²⁶ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 405, n. 17.

and the Studio senese. Innovation mixed with tradition and local privileges were not only upheld but extended significantly in the case of the student-universities. Power was spread throughout the different structures.

Unsurprisingly this diffusion led to numerous tensions both between and within the structures of academic power, and this is the focus of Chapter Four. As with the development of other institutions in the grand duchy, these tensions cannot be categorised simply as a centre versus periphery struggle. The administrators (including the grand dukes) would occasionally side with the students whilst at other times they would favour the professors. From time to time the administrators disagreed with each other, as the students and professors could also be divided amongst themselves.

The creation and the challenging of authority are also the subjects of the final part of the book. As part of the reinforcement of their power through visual and other cultural practices, the grand dukes were adept at the use of ritual. Moreover, since the rise of universities in the twelfth century, their image and character have been expressed by costumes, insignia, and ceremonies. Chapter Five considers how academic rituals were used to establish authority at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese. It also reveals how non-academic rituals (particularly those associated with Carnival) undermined authority.

Like ritual, violence has always been a characteristic of university life. Chapter Six examines the wide variety of interpersonal and collective violence which involved professors and students at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese. In so doing, it further highlights the contradictions within the grand duchy. Whilst the grand dukes and their officers sought to limit disorder, their attitudes were often inconsistent and there is evidence that in fact their actions exacerbated the situation, especially the grand dukes' intermittent support of rights to bear arms.

This reassessment of Tuscany and its universities between 1537 and 1609 is based in part on sources published here for the first time. Much of this material is found in the appendices. Apart from providing important prosopographical information, these sources are essential for a correct assessment of the growth of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese. The records of the Balìa, the most significant council in Siena, indicate the identities of some of the administrators, the *deputati di balìa sopra lo studio di Siena*. Financial records reveal the income and expenditure of the Studio pisano. They also identify the names, subjects, and salaries of the professors at the Studio pisano from 1543 to 1609

and the Studio senese from 1557 to 1589.²⁷ The two other appendices collate information which has already been published, disclosing the names and length of service of the members of the examining boards, the colleges of doctors, which played important roles within the universities and the cities where they were located.²⁸

This study aims to restore the universities of Pisa and Siena to the centre of the discussion of cultural politics under the grand dukes. It also seeks to encourage a debate on how those cultural politics developed outside Florence. Such a debate would address the continuities and the changes as well as the contradictions and the tensions which characterised the grand duchy.

²⁷ The records for the Studio pisano also include payments to the Accademia fiorentina and for the limited university-level teaching which was conducted at the Studio fiorentino. The names of the professors at the Studio pisano and the subjects which they taught are published in Danilo Barsanti, "I docenti e le cattedre dal 1543 al 1737," in *Storia dell'Università di Pisa*, 1, part 2, pp. 505–565. Barsanti organises this material by individual and then by chair and he does not record payments. But it is only by presenting the annual lists of professors, the subjects which they taught, and the payments which they received that one is able to appreciate the hierarchy of the professoriat, to see the range of teaching, and to understand the finances of the Studio. The names, subjects, and salaries of the professors at the Studio senese from 1589 to 1609 are published in Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 228–264. The rolls of the Studio pisano for 1543/44 and 1567/68 and of the Studio senese for 1563/64, 1567/68, 1570/71, 1575/76, 1586/87, 1588/89, and 1589/90 are published in Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università il Principe*, pp. 175–179, 181–189, 192–197. However, these are the rolls of those who were supposed to teach rather than the records of payments to those who had actually taught.

²⁸ For the importance of the colleges of doctors to Italian cities and universities, see Chapter Three, n. 164.

PART ONE

CONTEXT

CHAPTER ONE

BUILDING THE GRAND DUCHY

On the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence is a painting by Giorgio Vasari and Jan van der Straet of *Cosimo I Studying the Plans for the Conquest of Siena*.¹ Surrounded by allegorical figures of Vigilance, Patience, Fortitude, Prudence, and Silence, Cosimo sits at his desk, measuring the fortifications of Siena with a compass. Beside him stands a miniature model of the city. The war with Siena is carefully presented as Cosimo's personal initiative. He is the architect of his state.²

But what was the reality behind this image? During the reigns of Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando, the duchy retained its independence, expanded its territory, rose in status, and cultivated its military, administrative, and fiscal resources. However, rather than becoming a centralised absolute state, it developed its own idiosyncratic structures in which princely authority was combined with the traditional forms and local privileges of the 'old' state (*stato vecchio*) of Florence and the 'new' state (*stato nuovo*) of Siena. Whilst the grand dukes and their ministers were astute rulers, this was a complex and confusing system. It is only by first analysing how the grand duchy was built diplomatically, militarily, administratively, economically, and ecclesiastically that one can fully understand the complicated development of the *Studio pisano* and the *Studio senese*.

¹ For this painting, see the frontispiece.

² For Vasari's explanation of the iconography of this painting, see Giorgio Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, (1588), http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/vasari_ragionamenti.pdf (accessed 28 March 2007), p. 100. For the decoration of the Salone dei Cinquecento or Sala Grande, see now Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 54–80, 200–206.

“A CURIOUS MIXTURE”

The image of Cosimo as the all-powerful ruler is common in contemporary sources.³ According to the official historian Benedetto Varchi, Cosimo overrode the checks which had been placed on ducal power by the 1532 constitution:

...neither the state nor the Quarantotto nor the councillors, but Cosimo alone ruled everything. Nor was anything said or done, no matter how big or small, without him saying yes or no.⁴

Outsiders shared this view of Cosimo's wide-ranging control. In 1561 the Venetian ambassador to Florence, Vincenzo Fedeli, described Cosimo as a “*principe assoluto*” who governed the states of Florence and Siena with “very great severity and fear.”⁵ Fedeli reported how Cosimo would always attend to public business, rising at dawn, or two or three hours before daybreak in the winter, so that he could receive a succession of secretaries and ambassadors before dining late. If Cosimo sought counsel, he would send a sealed message to one of his many advisors, who were obliged to respond likewise. Therefore, in Fedeli's view, it was more accurate to say that the duke decided rather than that the council resolved. The most important state correspondence was read first by Cosimo and he would reply to it in his own hand. The most secret documents were kept by him in a box which always travelled with him and to which only he had the key. Underpinning Cosimo's control was a vast network of spies, which covered not only Tuscany but anywhere Florentines were to be found, and which cost over 40,000 scudi a year. Everyone suspected everyone else of being a spy and anything suspicious or damaging to Cosimo was reported. The

³ According to Luca Mannori, contemporary historians were largely united in seeing the principate as an absolute state, see Luca Mannori, “Il pensiero giuridico e storico-politico,” in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini (Florence, 2003), pp. 311–332 (p. 323).

⁴ Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, Vol. 2, p. 399: “Nè sia nessuno che si maravigli che io dica sempre Cosimo, e non mai lo stato, o i quarantotto, nè i consiglieri; perciocchè non lo stato, nè i Quarantotto, nè i consiglieri principalmente, ma Cosimo solo governava il tutto, nè si diceva o faceva cosa alcuna, nè così grande nè tanto piccola, alla quale egli non desse il sì o il no.”

⁵ Vincenzo Fedeli, “Relazione di messer Vincenzo Fedeli segretario dell'illustrissima Signoria di Venezia tornato dal duca di Fiorenza nel 1561,” in *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ed. Angelo Ventura, 2 vols. (Bari, 1976), Vol. 2, pp. 209–260 (pp. 222, 234): “Questo governa li Stati suoi con un grandissimo rigore e spavento.” For the grand dukes as seen by the Venetian ambassadors, see Gino Benzoni, “Profili medicei di fattura veneziana: Cosimo I, Francesco I, Ferdinando I,” *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 24 (1992): 69–86.

prisons were known as the ‘secrete’ or ‘secrets’ and they inspired such terror that people would say, “God protect me from the secrets of the duke.” According to Fedeli, no news of inmates ever came out of the prisons and often prisoners did not know why they had been incarcerated. Each morning Cosimo would begin his day by receiving reports on everyone who had been found at large during the night, whether they were armed or unarmed. Each evening he would finish work by considering supplications for his mercy. In Fedeli’s eyes, Cosimo’s swift justice was incomparable but to his subjects he appeared terrifying.⁶

Domination of the government was also a characteristic of Cosimo’s son, Ferdinando I. In his *Survey of the Great Dukes State of Tuscany* published in 1605, Sir Robert Dallington devoted a section to Ferdinando’s “absolute rule”:

As touching the manage of the matters of state, the administration of Iustice, and the disposing of Offices, true it is that the great Duke, though all matters do absolutely and plenarily depend upon his will and pleasure, yet notwithstanding he will for the most part have the judgement and the counsaile of the Archbishop of Pisa, a man who for his dexteritie of wit, and experience in matters of State, hath purchased himselfe great credit and reputation with his Prince; next unto him he hath other his Courtiers, to whom sometimes he will communicate some causes, but neither all, nor alwayes: which causeth the Prince to be more absolute, procureth his Counsels a more secret proceeding, giveth his actions a more speedy dispatch, and peradventure a more happy issue: so that it cannot properly be said of this Court, that there is a Counsell of state, but that every thing immediatly hath his motive, processe, and ending of the Princes will and pleasure.⁷

Such was Ferdinando’s control that in 1608 the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Morosini, predicted that his death would prove difficult for the grand duchy since he ruled everything “with his head”, advised only by two wise but aged ministers.⁸

⁶ Ibid., pp. 222–223, 235–238.

⁷ Sir Robert Dallington, *Survey of the Great Dukes State of Tuscany* (London, 1605; rept. Amsterdam, 1974), p. 56. For Dallington, see C. S. Knighton, “Dallington, Sir Robert (1561–1636),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7042, accessed 3 Aug 2007]. For the *Survey*, see Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London, 1998), pp. 143–160 and James Paterson, “A ‘Falsissima Relatione’: Robert Dallington’s *Survey of Tuscany*” (2005), http://www.lulu.com/content/121258, accessed 7 Apr. 2007.

⁸ Morosini, “Relazione,” p. 347: “Sarai ora la sua morte incomoda al governo di quel Stato, perché lui governa tutto di sua testa, senza altro consiglio ovvero avviso che da due soli ministri,

These contemporary views of the government of the grand dukes have been supported by some recent scholars. It has been suggested that Cosimo's reign marked the political transition which "...led Florence from a republicanism uniquely energetic in its cult of liberty to the drowsy acceptance of near-absolutist rule."⁹ It has even been argued that Cosimo was the prototypical absolutist ruler and that Tuscany, with its compact size and religious, cultural, and linguistic unity, experienced a more effective absolutism than larger European states, including France.¹⁰ Furthermore, the political thought of the principate has been presented as the development and the consolidation of a new anti-republican feeling which was also anti-classical and anti-heroic. In this, it is said, it was the precursor of a new type of politics, based on the discovery of a 'private' dimension which was equally alien to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.¹¹

Yet was the situation as straightforward as this? The development of the grand duchy was complicated by the legacy of the republic, both in theory and in practice. Explicitly echoing the mixed government of Venice, Alessandro was made 'duca della Repubblica fiorentina' in 1532.¹² The same title was given to Cosimo by Charles V in 1537.¹³ Further ambiguity came with the enfeoffment of Siena in 1557 when Cosimo became *de facto* duke of two republics and this uncertainty may have been one of the motives for his seeking a higher rank.¹⁴ In 1569 Cosimo was made grand duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V and the title was recognised by Emperor Maximilian II in 1576, two years after

istrutti ma vecchi, li quali sono il cavaliere Vinta, che tratta le cose di fuori e di Stato, e Usimbardi, che ha cura del governo di dentro."

⁹ J. R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici* (London, 1977; rept. London, 2001), p. 7. In his study of the grand duchy, Furio Diaz entitled his analysis of Cosimo's rule "Cosimo I e il consolidarsi dello Stato assoluto", see Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana: I Medici* (Turin, 1976), pp. 85–229.

¹⁰ Nicholas Terpstra, "Competing Visions of the State and Social Welfare: The Medici Dukes, the Bigallo Magistrates, and Local Hospitals in Sixteenth-Century Tuscany," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), 1319–1355 (p. 1321); Nicholas Terpstra, *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance: Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna* (Baltimore, 2005), p. 22.

¹¹ Mannori, "Il pensiero giuridico," p. 316.

¹² Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, Vol. 1, p. 7; Diaz, *Il Granducato*, pp. 51–52; Domenichini, "Alle origini del principato cosimiano," p. 7.

¹³ For the imperial diploma of 30 September 1537, see Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato*, Vol. 1, p. 15.

¹⁴ Elena Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I (1530–1609)," in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini (Florence, 2003), pp. 3–40 (pp. 24–25).

Cosimo's death.¹⁵ Despite this elevation, Cosimo chose to emphasise the importance of his election by his fellow citizens. According to his biographer Domenico Mellini:

[Cosimo] put much more stock—and he said this publicly—in having been elected *principe* and *padrone* of his homeland by his people than if he had acquired some great kingdom, and speaking of that he used words full of modesty, and of gratitude toward the nobility in particular, and all Florentines.¹⁶

This attitude was shared by his successors. In 1587 a joint session of the Senato dei Quarantotto and the Consiglio dei Duecento acclaimed Ferdinando as head of the Florentine Republic.¹⁷ Two months before Ferdinando's death in 1609, the Venetian ambassador reported that “[The grand duke] boasts of being an elected prince, elected by the Quarantotto as supreme head of the Florentine Republic.”¹⁸

Why did the grand dukes stress their leadership of a continuing republic? As Luca Mannori has observed, like all other previous Italian princely regimes, the Medici had two possible strategies for securing legal recognition. First, they could try to obtain external recognition from one or both of the ancient universal authorities—the Empire and the Church—which would put the dynasty on the same footing as the other ruling houses of Europe. Secondly, they could seek an investiture ‘from below’, following the classical archetype in which, in Augustan Rome, ultimate power had been transferred from the people to the emperor. From the beginning the new princes were extremely wary of taking the first route, in the well-founded fear that the conferring of a title by the emperor would strengthen the position of the Habsburgs, who were already laying claim to Tuscany. It was only to secure the Sienese state that the Medici were willing to declare themselves as imperial vassals.¹⁹

¹⁵ See Introduction, n. 4.

¹⁶ Domenico Mellini, *Ricordi intorno ai costumi, azioni, e governo del Serenissimo Gran Duca Cosimo I* (Florence, 1820), p. 72: “Stimò, e lo diceva pubblicamente, di gran lunga vie più l'essere stato eletto da'suoi cittadini Principe, e Padrone della sua patria, che s'egli avesse acquistato qual sivoglia regno, e di ciò ragionando usava parole piene di modestia, e di gratitudine verso la Nobiltà particolarmente, e Fiorentine tutti.” Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 236 n. 26. For the *Ricordi*, see Chapter Two, n. 79.

¹⁷ Fasano Guarini, “Ferdinando I,” p. 265.

¹⁸ *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ed. Ventura, Vol. 2, p. 331: “Si gloria di esser principe di elezione: eletto dalli Quarantotto capo supremo della repubblica fiorentina.”

¹⁹ Mannori, “Il pensiero giuridico,” pp. 324–325. For the parallels between Augustus and Cosimo, see Chapter Two.

Contemporary historiography and legal thought saw a substantial continuity between republic and principate, minimizing as far as possible the break between the two. The first person to elaborate this interpretation was Francesco Guicciardini, who argued that Charles V had been forced in 1530 to reintroduce to Florence the old form of government which had been in place before the last overthrow of the Medici. The Florentines had given Cosimo il Vecchio the posthumous title of head of the city and under this long-lived regime the name and authority of the republic had flourished, with only two tragic breaks in 1494 and 1527. The crisis of 1530 had merely restored this position. The whole institutional history of Florence came to be placed within a single framework, and the principate appeared as the simple formalisation of a healthy aristocratic constitution which had always thrived in the Florentine state. The historians and lawyers who followed Guicciardini consolidated this continuistic reading. The idea that the republic and the principate had an indissoluble identity was made explicit because of the difficult question of the precedence of Italian rulers. The advisers of the Medici stressed the unitary thesis, arguing that not only did the old republic continue to live in the person of the prince but that he was its ‘minister’, ‘organum’, and ‘instrumentum’ and not merely a simple feudatory like the duke of Ferrara. The argument of an uninterrupted republican state continued to be made until the 1720s when the Medici used it against the Habsburgs.²⁰

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 325–327. It has been argued that the precedence controversy between the Medici and the Este influenced the history of Europe during the late sixteenth century, the writing of history, and the study of genealogy. For the controversy, see ASF, MdP 2914 “Informazioni e consulti dei principali giurisperiti e università di Europa nella causa di precedenza del duca Cosimo Primo de’ Medici con la Casa d’Este”; Torquato Tasso, “Della precedenza,” in Torquato Tasso, *Appendice alle opere in prosa di Torquato Tasso*, ed. A. Solerti (Florence, 1892), pp. 107–157; P. Capei, “Saggio di atti e documenti nella controversia di precedenza tra il Duca di Firenze e quello di Ferrara negli anni 1562–1573,” *Archivio storico italiano*, n.s., 7/2 (1858), 93–116; V. Santi, “La precedenza tra gli Estensi e i Medici e la historia de’ principi d’Este di G. Battista Pigna,” *Atti della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria* 9 (1897), 37–122; P. Gribaudo, “Questioni di precedenza fra le corti italiane nel secolo XVI. Contributo alla storia della diplomazia italiana,” *Rivista di scienze storiche* 1/9 (1904): 164–177, 1/10 (1904): 278–285, 1/11 (1904): 347–356, 2/2 (1905): 87–94, 2/3 (1905): 205–216, 2/6 (1905): 475–485, 2/7 (1905): 29–38, 2/8 (1905): 126–141; David R. Coffin, “Pirro Ligorio and Decoration of the Late Sixteenth Century at Ferrara,” *The Art Bulletin* 37 (1955): 167–185; Contini, “Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy,” pp. 78–79; Contini, “La concessione,” pp. 417–418; Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 73–76, 204. Between 1558 and 1566 there was also a major conflict between Spanish and French ambassadors in Rome over the issue of national and monarchical precedence, see Michael J. Levin, “The

Some scholars view the grand duchy as a 'mixed state', suggesting this as the reason for its long life.²¹ Others argue that the notion that the system established in 1532 could work as a kind of mixed government, vaguely similar to that of Venice, was immediately revealed to be wishful thinking.²²

Although references to a continuing republic should be treated with caution, the structures of power which the grand dukes inherited in the territorial state largely endured, and were adapted rather than replaced. These structures are essential to any true understanding of the grand duchy since the most delicate aspect of the political structure was the centre's relation with the periphery.²³ It is unsurprising that the sixteenth-century Tuscan territorial state has been the focus of intensive research.²⁴ What is startling is the situation which this research has revealed: strong central authority coexisted with a strong sense of local community, pluralism, and even enduring resistance.²⁵ The building of the territorial state needs to be placed in the context of a network of contractual

Spanish Campaign for Precedence in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Early Modern History* 6 (2002): 233–264.

²¹ Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 6.

²² Mannori, "Il pensiero giuridico," p. 323.

²³ Ibid., p. 327.

²⁴ This research has been led by Elena Fasano Guarini and Luca Mannori. Their key studies include: Elena Fasano Guarini, *Lo stato mediceo di Cosimo I* (Florence, 1973); Elena Fasano Guarini, "Potere centrale e comunità soggette nel Granducato di Cosimo I," *Rivista storica italiana* 89 (1977): 491–538; Elena Fasano Guarini, "Principe ed oligarchie nella Toscana del Cinquecento," in *Forme e tecniche del potere nella città (secc. XIV–XVII)*, ed. Sergio Bertelli (Perugia, 1982), pp. 105–126; Elena Fasano Guarini, "Gli statuti delle città soggette a Firenze tra '400 e '500: riforme locali e interventi centrali," in *Statuti, città, territori in Italia e in Germania tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Dietmar Willoweit (Bologna, 1991), pp. 69–124; Elena Fasano Guarini, "Center and Periphery," *The Journal of Modern History* 67, Supplement: The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600 (1995): S74–S96; Luca Mannori, *Il sovrano tutore: pluralismo istituzionale e accentramento amministrativo nel principato dei Medici (secc. XVI–XVIII)* (Milan, 1994); and Mannori, "Il pensiero giuridico," pp. 311–332. For a survey of historiography on the Tuscan territorial state, see Luca Mannori, "Effetto domino. Il profilo istituzionale dello Stato territoriale toscano nella storiografia degli ultimi trent'anni," in *La Toscana in età moderna (secoli XVI–XVIII). Politica, istituzioni, società: studi recenti e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. Mario Ascheri and Alessandra Contini (Florence, 2005), pp. 59–90. To the studies discussed by Mannori, one should now add Céline Perol, "Florence et le Domaine florentin au XV^e et XVI^e siècles: pouvoir et clientèles," in *Florence et la Toscane XIV^e–XIX^e siècles: Les dynamiques d'un État italien*, ed. Jean Boutier, Sando Landi, and Olivier Rouchon (Rennes, 2004), pp. 161–177.

²⁵ Philip Gavitt, "Charity and State Building in Cinquecento Florence: Vincenzo Borghini as Administrator of the Ospedale degli Innocenti," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 230–270 (p. 236, n. 17).

relations dating back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which refutes any notion of homogeneity between subjects.²⁶ There remained a great collage of urban and rural communities subject to the *stato vecchio* of Florence or the *stato nuovo* of Siena but not fused with the systems of either. Although it had lost its political independence, every ‘*civitas olim libera*’ maintained its original identity, made of its own statutes and magistracies, estates, property and tax revenues, remaining in effect a little semi-autonomous state. This legal separateness was regularly confirmed by a statutory pact whereby the dominant power received the submission of the new territory, recognising at the same time its laws and privileges.²⁷ In legal practice the grand duke never became the direct sovereign of the dominion but remained essentially the ‘*princeps civitatis superioris*’.²⁸

It is also striking that contemporaries continued to think historically, legally, and politically in terms inherited from the communal past. It has been suggested by some scholars that there was no ‘regional’ history being written in sixteenth century Tuscany. The contemporary local historians of Siena, Pistoia, Pisa, and Prato did indeed see the creation of the principate as a break with the previous period but not in terms of a progressive merger of local identities into a higher territorial unity. The dominion was always portrayed from an ‘imperialist’ perspective. The principate is introduced as a mere chapter in the history of Florence. Little attention was paid by historians to the significant interventions by Cosimo to increase the centre’s military, financial, and administrative control over the dominion. Nor do they seem aware of any significant change in the relation of subjects following the arrival of the principate. Some prominence was given to

²⁶ Mannori, “Il pensiero giuridico,” p. 312. For the Florentine territorial state in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, ed. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Cambridge, 2000). For the Siennese territorial state before the conquest of 1555, see *Siena e il suo territorio nel Rinascimento*, ed. Mario Ascheri and Donatella Ciampoli, 3 vols. (Siena, 1986–2000); Mario Ascheri, “Siena in the Fourteenth Century: State, Territory, and Culture,” in *The “Other Tuscany”*, ed. Thomas W. Blomquist and Maureen F. Mazzaoui (Kalamazoo, 1994), pp. 163–197; and Alessandro Dani, *I comuni dello Stato di Siena e le loro assemblee (secc. XIV–XVIII). I caratteri di una cultura giuridico-politica* (Siena, 1998).

²⁷ Mannori, “Il pensiero giuridico,” p. 329. For a map outlining the *stato vecchio* and the *stato nuovo* in 1574, see Olivier Rouchon, “L’invention du principat médicéen (1512–1609),” in *Florence et la Toscane XIV^e–XIX^e siècles: Les dynamiques d’un État italien*, ed. Jean Boutier, Sando Landi, and Olivier Rouchon (Rennes, 2004), pp. 65–90 (p. 79).

²⁸ Mannori, “Il pensiero giuridico,” pp. 329–330.

the quest for the grand ducal title, but only as the restoration of the medieval unity of Tuscany. Lawyers, who were constantly faced with the problems of Tuscan institutional pluralism, used fifteenth-century concepts of a 'confederation' of lands and cities rather than those of a unitary state. They compared the status of the various communities to that of the ancient Italian peoples who had federated with Rome, as described in the laws of Justinian. For authors of political treatises, the state was still the city-state of the humanist-classical tradition, even if it was now governed by one man and placed at the top of a rather large dominion. The prince continued to be a figure profoundly different from any territorial monarch. Paradoxically the claim that he was similar to the kings of Spain or France or the dukes of Milan or Ferrara was made by his enemies.²⁹ The communal mindset still existed in the late seventeenth century when we find references in Siena to citizens being elected to the government "of this very ancient republic."³⁰

It is clear that the development of the grand duchy is far removed from the classic notions of state-building. However, the most important lesson of recent research on the premodern state in Italy may be that universal models are useless.³¹ Moreover, the concept of absolutism has itself become highly contentious.³² According to Giorgio Chittolini, "...the Italian state of the Renaissance is not a modern state, and

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 319, 328–331. For contemporary historians' views of the territorial state, see also Elena Fasano Guarini, "Città e stato nella storiografia fiorentina del Cinquecento," in *Storiografia repubblicana fiorentina (1494–1570)*, ed. Jean-Jacques Marchand and Jean-Claude Zancarini (Florence, 2003), pp. 285–307.

³⁰ Mario Ascheri, "Siena senza indipendenza," p. 10.

³¹ Mannori, "Il pensiero giuridico," pp. 312–313, 331. For an introduction to research on the premodern state in Italy, see *Origini dello Stato: processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini, Anthony Molho, and Pierangelo Schiera (Bologna, 1994). English translations of some of the essays in this volume were published as a supplement in *The Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995). They were also published in *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600*, ed. Julius Kirshner (Chicago, 1996). For a more recent survey, see H.C. Butters, "La storiografia sullo stato rinascimentale," in *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa. Volume I. Storia e storiografia*, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Treviso, 2005), pp. 121–150.

³² For the debate on absolutism in Italy and other European states, see Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism* (Harlow, 1992); Elena Fasano Guarini, "L'assolutismo," in *Storia moderna* (Rome, 1998), pp. 315–347; Fanny Cosandey and Robert Descimon, *L'absolutisme en France. Histoire et historiographie* (Paris, 2002); John Hurt, *Louis XIV and the Parlements. The Assertion of Royal Authority* (Manchester, 2002); Robert Frost, "Early Modern State-Building, the Scandinavian *Machtstaat*, and the Shortcomings of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7 (2003): 164–171; and Alan James, *The Origins of French Absolutism* (Harlow, 2006).

even less is it an absolute state.”³³ So how should we describe the grand duchy of Tuscany? Perhaps it would be best to agree with Luca Mannori, who writes:

It is impossible to deny that the object reflected in the various sources has a rather bizarre appearance. It is presented as a curious mixture of authoritarianism and freedom, of monarchy and republic, of tough political absolutism and extreme institutional particularism.³⁴

In discussing the grand duchy, it may be helpful to bear these contradictions in mind. The grand duchy was a hybrid construct, the product of its unique historical circumstances.

One also needs to consider whether the grand dukes brought any consistent approach to the building of their state. An anonymous writer began his account of the grand duchy under Francesco by claiming:

...it was not a new principate but rather a continuation and strengthening of the government since ministers did not change, there was no alteration of policies, and interests, friendships, and regulations remained the same...³⁵

A similar spirit can be found in the personal and political testament which Ferdinando issued in 1592:

We order that, unless there is great need, no new laws shall be made nor should existing ones be changed, and that the cities and lands of our states should be governed as far as possible according to their customs and statutes.³⁶

³³ Giorgio Chittolini, *La crisi degli ordinamenti comunali e le origini dello stato del Rinascimento* (Bologna, 1979), p. 40: ‘Non è...lo stato italiano del Rinascimento quello “Stato moderno” o meno che mai quello “Stato assoluto”.’

³⁴ Mannori, “Il pensiero giuridico,” p. 330: “*Impossibile negare che l’oggetto riflesso dalle testimonianze che si sono esaminate offra un aspetto a dir poco bizzarro. Esso si presenta come una curiosa miscela di autoritarismo e di libertà, di monarchia e di repubblica, di duro assolutismo politico e di esasperato particolarismo istituzionale.*”

³⁵ Quoted in Diaz, *Il Granducato*, p. 231: “*Si può perciò dire che non fosse nuovo principato ma più tosto continuazione e rin vigorimento di governo, perché non si mutarono ministri, non si variarono massime, et gl’interessi, le amicizie, le discipline furono le istesse...*” This account was directed to Ferdinando.

³⁶ Quoted in Fasano Guarini, “La fondazione del Principato,” pp. 26–27: “*Comandiamo che non si facciamo senza gran causa nuove leggi né si abroghino o immutino le già fatte; et che le città e terre di nostri statti siano governate il più che si può conforme a loro consuetudini et statuti.*” For the testament, see ASF, trattati internazionali 9, insert 2 and Elena Fasano Guarini, “Produzione di leggi e disciplinamento nella Toscana granducale tra Cinque e Seicento. Spunti di ricerca,” in *Disciplina dell’anima, disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Paolo Prodi (Bologna, 1994), pp. 659–690 (pp. 682–684).

There were certainly continuities. But, as we shall see, there were also significant differences in the ways that Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando constructed the grand duchy diplomatically, militarily, administratively, economically, and ecclesiastically.

FOREIGN POLICY

It is against a backdrop of external challenges that we must judge the Medici as builders of the princely state.³⁷ Traditionally Florentine foreign policy had been based on the alliance with France. However, by the time Cosimo came to power in 1537, forty years of war had left the Italian peninsula dominated by Habsburg Spain, which directly controlled the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan.³⁸ Apart from limited periods, most notably between 1587 and 1601, the Medici would be basically loyal to the Habsburgs for the next seventy years.³⁹ But the longevity of the alliance should not obscure the fact that Medicean diplomacy was "...governed less by a coherent set of foreign policies than by an infinite quantity of actions and trade-offs where nothing appeared certain or fixed."⁴⁰

The Habsburg alliance brought several benefits. First, it permitted the Medici principate to exist. This may seem obvious but it was possible that Florence could have been annexed to the territories of the Spanish crown at the beginning of Cosimo's reign.⁴¹ Secondly, there was the imperial recognition in 1537 of Cosimo as duke of Florence

³⁷ Ibid., p. 10. This is one of the key themes of Giorgio Spini, *Cosimo I e l'indipendenza del principato mediceo* (Florence, 1980).

³⁸ For the establishment of Spanish hegemony in Italy and the relations between Spain and other powers on the peninsula, see *Nel sistema imperiale: L'Italia spagnola*, ed. Aurelio Musi (Naples, 1994); *L'Italia degli Austrias: Monarchia cattolica e domini italiani nei secoli XVI e XVII*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto (Mantua, 1993); Aurelio Musi, *L'Italia dei viceré: Integrazione e resistenza nel sistema imperiale spagnolo* (Cava de' Tirreni, 2000); Domenico Sella, *Lo Stato di Milano in età spagnola* (Turin, 1987); *La Lombardia spagnola. Nuovi indirizzi di ricerca*, ed. Elena Brambilla and Giovanni Muto (Milan, 1997); Giuseppe Galasso, *Alla periferia dell'impero: Il Regno di Napoli nel periodo spagnolo, secoli XVI–XVII* (Turin, 1994); Thomas J. Dandele, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven, 2002); and Michael J. Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish ambassadors in sixteenth-century Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005).

³⁹ For relations between Spain and Tuscany, see *Toscana e Spagna nel secolo XVI. Miscelanea di studi storici* (Pisa, 1996).

⁴⁰ Contini, "Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy," p. 75.

⁴¹ Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 8.

and in 1576 of Francesco as grand duke of Tuscany.⁴² Thirdly, in 1543 Charles V returned the fortresses of Florence and Livorno which he had retained, allowing Cosimo to gain full sovereignty and military control over his state.⁴³ Fourthly, the alliance enabled Cosimo to extend his territory, most notably with the enfeoffment of Siena but also in other areas, although he failed to conquer the republic of Lucca.⁴⁴ Finally, it should also be recognised that often there was no alternative to siding with the Habsburgs. Between 1562 and 1598 France was frequently divided by the Wars of Religion and in 1601 the treaty of Lyon marked the withdrawal of France from Italy.⁴⁵

Nevertheless the alliance was not without its tensions. These can be seen clearly in 1557 with the Spanish creation of the *Stato dei Presidi*, which included the territories of Orbetello, Porto Ercole, Talamone, Monte Argentario, and Porto Santo Stefano. By keeping these areas under Spanish control, where they remained until 1707, Philip II prevented further expansion by Cosimo along the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea.⁴⁶ Serious difficulties also arose in 1569 with the creation of Cosimo as grand duke of Tuscany by the pope. The announcement, which had been negotiated in secrecy, enraged the emperor.⁴⁷

As well as other factors, these tensions encouraged the search for alternative allies by all three grand dukes, including Francesco, whose first wife was the daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I.⁴⁸ Charles V's

⁴² See Introduction, nn. 3 and 4.

⁴³ For the return of the fortresses, see Spini, *Cosimo I*, pp. 213–214.

⁴⁴ For the acquisition of Siena, see Introduction, n. 5. For the extent of Cosimo's territories, see Fasano Guarini, *Lo stato mediceo*, pp. 5–17, 83–118. For Cosimo and Lucca, see Mary Hewlett, "A Republic in Jeopardy: Cosimo I de' Medici and the Republic of Lucca," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 9–22.

⁴⁵ For the French Wars of Religion, see Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2005). For the treaty of Lyon, see Alain Hugon, "Le duché de Savoie et la *Pax Hispanica*. Autour du traité de Lyon (1601)," *Cahiers d'Histoire* 46 (2001): 211–242.

⁴⁶ For the *Stato dei Presidi*, see now Franco Angiolini, "I Presidios di Toscana: 'cadena de oro' e 'llave y freno de Italia'," in *Guerra y Sociedad en la Monarquía hispánica. Política, estrategia y cultura en la Europa moderna (1500–1700)* ed. Enrique García Hernán and Davide Maffi, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2006), Vol. 1, pp. 171–188.

⁴⁷ Contini, "La concessione," p. 432.

⁴⁸ For the wedding of Francesco and Joanna of Austria, see *Descrizione della entrata delle serenissima regina Giovanna d'Austria et dell'apparato, fatto in Firenze nella venuta, [et] per le felicissime nozze di sua altezza et dell' illustrissimo... don Francesco de Medici...* (Florence, 1566); *Le dieci mascherate delle bufole mandate in Firenze il giorno di carnuale l'anno 1565* (Florence, 1566); and M.A. Katritzky, "The Florentine *Entrata* of Joanna of Austria and Other

opposition to his territorial expansion led Cosimo to sign a secret treaty of neutrality with Henry II of France in 1552, though the alliance proved shortlived because of French support for the Florentine exiles who opposed the Medici.⁴⁹ The quest for a higher title and a greater role in international politics made Cosimo turn towards Rome from the late 1550s; the election of Pius IV in 1559 and Pius V in 1566 brought popes sympathetic to his cause. It also led to a rapprochement with the king of France, with Cosimo partly financing his war against the Huguenots.⁵⁰ The precedence controversy saw the Medici reach out to their Este and Gonzaga rivals. In 1558 Lucrezia di Cosimo married Alfonso d'Este, the future duke of Ferrara. This was followed by the marriage in 1584 of Eleanora di Francesco to Vincenzo Gonzaga, the future duke of Mantua and the marriage in 1585 of Virginia di Cosimo to Cesare d'Este, the future duke of Modena.⁵¹ Cesare's requests for the imperial investiture of Modena and Reggio and the papal investiture of Ferrara were supported by Ferdinando.⁵²

Concern over Spanish domination of Italy and the Mediterranean, alarm at the aggressive pro-Spanish policy of Savoy, and recognition of changes in the European balance of power with the rise of England and the Netherlands led to a cooling of relations between Florence and Madrid under Ferdinando. He put France at the heart of his foreign policy, marrying Christine of Lorraine in 1588, lending large sums to Catherine de' Medici, Henry III, and Henry IV as well as supporting the latter with troops, information, advice, and direct political interventions.

Entrate Described in a German Diary," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 148–173.

⁴⁹ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 41. For Franco-Florentine relations between 1547 and 1589, see De Lamar Jensen, "Catherine de Medici and Her Florentine Friends," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978): 57–74. In 1550 the Florentine merchant Antonio Guidotti tried in vain to involve Cosimo in negotiations between England and France, see Laura E. Hunt, "Cosimo I and the Anglo-French Negotiations of 1550," in *The Cultural Politics of Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 23–36.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43; Contini, "Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy," pp. 78–80.

⁵¹ For these marriages, see *Descrizione delle pompe e delle feste fatte nella venuta alla città di Firenze del serenissimo don Vincenzo Gonzaga...per la serenissima D. Leonora de Medici principessa di Toscana sua consorte* (Florence, 1584); *Descrizione del magnificentissimo apparato e de' maravigliosi intermedi fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle felicissime nozze degl'illustrissimi...signori il signor don Cesare d'Este, e la signora donna Virginia Medici* (Florence, 1585); Tiziano Ascari, "Cesare d'Este," *DBI*, Vol. 24, pp. 136–141 (p. 137); Langdon, *Medici Women*, pp. 139–141.

⁵² Fasano Guarini, "Ferdinando I de' Medici," p. 266.

Following Henry's conversion to Catholicism, Ferdinando negotiated the papal absolution and, as already mentioned, in 1600 he arranged the marriage of his niece to Henry.⁵³

Apart from the seismic shift from Spain to France, it has been argued that the chief breakthrough achieved by Ferdinando's diplomacy was the establishment of official diplomatic contacts with England.⁵⁴ From 1589 Ferdinando was in secret contact with Elizabeth I. Notwithstanding the impact of English pirates on Tuscan shipping, the relationship grew close. The two countries developed commercial links and shared an interest in the balance of power in Europe, especially the Spanish threat. Although Ferdinando publicly supported the Spanish Armada, he privately gave precious information to England, gathered from his vast network of spies and informers.

Ferdinando's policy of distancing himself from Spain did not go unpunished. As well as withholding the fief of Siena, Philip reinforced Spanish garrisons in the *Stato dei Presidi*, and he supported the claims of Ferdinando's brother Don Pietro to half of the Medici inheritance. In 1593 Spanish jurists considered Don Pietro a possible candidate for the investiture of Siena.⁵⁵ The French withdrawal from Italy in 1601 ultimately forced Ferdinando back into the Habsburg fold. He supported Spain and the Empire against France in the fight with the Turks, sending money and troops to the emperor. The rapprochement brought valuable results. In 1605 Ferdinando was finally enfeoffed with Siena and in 1607 his son Cosimo married Maria Maddelena of Austria.⁵⁶ After Ferdinando's death, the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Badoer, said that he had behaved as a "good Italian prince" seeking to preserve the peace and freedom of the peninsula.⁵⁷ Ferdinando had pursued a subtle diplomatic course, shifting between friendship with Spain, France, and England as circumstances suggested, and with considerable success.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 265–266; Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 36.

⁵⁴ Contini, "Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy," p. 89.

⁵⁵ Fasano Guarini, "Ferdinando I de' Medici," p. 267.

⁵⁶ Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," pp. 38–39; Fasano Guarini, "Ferdinando I de' Medici," pp. 267–268. p. 39 Despite the closer ties with the Habsburgs, the relationship between Tuscany and England continued to develop following the accession of James I, with English merchants and naval experts flowing to Livorno, see Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 39.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

What instruments did the grand dukes use to pursue their foreign policy? First, they had their diplomatic network. Since the late fifteenth century Florence had sent resident ambassadors to France, Spain, and the other Italian states.⁵⁸ As their diplomats the grand dukes always chose the most talented men. They did not care if, like Giovan Battista Concini, some of these men came from lowly social backgrounds. Following his accession, Ferdinando ordered a more efficient organisation of the Florentine system of controlling and managing diplomatic channels, but he continued to rely on men who had served his father, most notably Pietro Usimbardi, the head of the secretariat and another low-born official.⁵⁹ Alongside these formal diplomatic channels, the Medici used secret and extra-institutional devices. Like their fifteenth century ancestors, the grand dukes were keen to utilise the extensive system of Florentine merchants across Europe who could often gather intelligence more cheaply and more effectively than their official diplomatic counterparts.⁶⁰

Family ties were another important tool for influence and intelligence. In July 1539 Cosimo married Eleonora, the second daughter of the rich and powerful Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of the kingdom of Naples. This helped to strengthen Cosimo's position in a world dominated by Spain, whose fabric was based on family alliances and clientage.⁶¹ As mentioned, the children and grandchildren of Cosimo and Eleanora would marry into the houses of Habsburg, Lorraine, Este, Gonzaga, and Bourbon, bringing the personal connections which were so important in sixteenth-century European politics. Yet family ties were not always helpful in foreign policy. From 1547 to 1589 Catherine de' Medici was queen consort and then queen mother of France. Relations between Catherine and her Florentine kinsmen were often strained and "...from

⁵⁸ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston, 1955), pp. 69–70, 74, 133, 271 n. 11.

⁵⁹ Contini, "Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy," pp. 81–83, 87. For Usimbardi and his family, see Marcello Fantoni, *La corte del Granduca. Forma e simboli del potere mediceo fra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome, 1994), pp. 139–168.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 83; Hunt, "Cosimo I," pp. 24, 33. This intelligence included information on Cosimo's internal and external enemies, see Contini, "Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy," p. 59.

⁶¹ Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 12; Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 37. For Eleanora's important contributions to the political, economic, cultural, and religious development of the duchy, see *The Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo, Duchess of Florence and Siena*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2004) and Langdon, *Medici Women*, especially pp. 59–97, 241–264.

beginning to end Catherine's loyalty to family and friends never compromised her political dedication to the service of France."⁶²

Money could prove even more influential than blood, and Cosimo and his sons secured and increased their state and their status by lending large sums to the crowned heads of Europe. A payment of 150,000 scudi to Charles V brought the return of the fortresses in 1543.⁶³ By the time he demanded the fief of Siena in 1557, Cosimo estimated that Spain owed him more than 2 million scudi. As France moved towards civil war in 1561, Cosimo lent 100,000 scudi to Catherine de' Medici. In 1565, the year of Francesco's marriage to Joanna of Austria, the emperor received a loan of 200,000 scudi. In the same year France was given 100,000 scudi. With the outbreak of the second war of religion in 1567, Catherine asked for a further 200,000 scudi, though she received only 100,000 scudi and she had to wait for them until 1569, when Cosimo was keen to win her support for his elevation to grand duke. In 1572 he lent a further 100,000 scudi to France and 200,000 scudi to Philip II to help him suppress the revolt in the Netherlands.⁶⁴ Cosimo's sons also knew how to make their money work for them. Francesco's loan of 100,000 scudi to the emperor in 1575 encouraged imperial recognition of the grand ducal title the following year.⁶⁵ By 1600 Henry IV's debt to Ferdinando stood at 3.5 million livres and Henry's marriage to Marie de' Medici was the price of its cancellation.⁶⁶

Official and unofficial diplomats, family connections, and money all helped the grand dukes to achieve their foreign policy aims. And to these we should also add the growing military strength of Tuscany.

THE MILITARY

As the son of one of the greatest Italian commanders of the early sixteenth century, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, Cosimo was always aware of the importance of military power.⁶⁷ Its significance was shown

⁶² Jensen, "Catherine de Medici," p. 73.

⁶³ Spini, *Cosimo I*, p. 214.

⁶⁴ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 42; Jensen, "Catherine de Medici," pp. 62–64, 66, 71; Contini, "Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy," p. 80.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶⁶ Richard Bonney, *The King's Debts: Finance and Politics in France 1589–1661* (Oxford, 1981), p. 56; Heller, *Anti-Italianism*, p. 223.

⁶⁷ For Giovanni delle Bande Nere, see Maurizio Arfaioli, *The Black Bands of Giovanni: Infantry and Diplomacy during the Italian Wars (1526–1528)* (Pisa, 2005).

clearly soon after Cosimo's accession since Charles V only recognised him as duke of Florence following Cosimo's victory over the Florentine exiles at the battle of Montemurlo on 1 August 1537.⁶⁸ As he built the grand duchy, the military was an essential component. According to Gregory Hanlon,

[Cosimo] consciously sought to nurture a military ethos among Tuscan aristocrats, and endowed the state with a peasant militia. Both formed part of his programme to legitimise his dynasty and solidify his regime. The grand dukes named Florentine and Siennese nobles governors of Tuscan fortresses and militia commanders outside their native territories. In 1562, moreover, Cosimo established the Knights of Santo Stefano, a para-religious order patterned upon the Knights of Malta, and most of the nobles entering its ranks were Tuscan. These were true military offices, created to enhance the bellicose potential of the state, notwithstanding the long period of peace that Tuscany enjoyed.⁶⁹

The militia was a legacy of the republic. It had been very active in the early decades of the sixteenth century and Machiavelli's involvement is well-known.⁷⁰ In 1534 Alessandro established militia or bande across the duchy.⁷¹ When Cosimo came to power there were nine bande, which by 1547 had grown to eighteen with 15,019 registered members. This figure rose to thirty-six bande with 25,519 registered members in 1571 and thirty-four bande with 44,189 registered members in 1606. Some care needs to be taken with these figures. Illness, absenteeism, and vagrancy reduced the true number of the men who served. For example, 6,169 men (24%) were in fact unavailable in 1571.⁷² Nevertheless, Tuscany was one of the Italian states with the greatest number of subjects involved

⁶⁸ For the battle of Montemurlo, see Spini, *Cosimo I*, pp. 84–91. Cosimo was recognised as duke by Charles on 30 September 1537, see Introduction, n. 3.

⁶⁹ Gregory Hanlon, "Glorifying War in a Peaceful City: Festive Representations of Combat in Baroque Siena, 1570–1740", *War in History* 11 (2004): 249–277 (pp. 251–252). On Cosimo's desire to create a military nobility, see Diaz, *Il Granducato*, pp. 181–3 and Franco Angiolini, "Politica, società e organizzazione militare nel principato mediceo: a proposito di una 'Memoria' di Cosimo I," *Società e Storia* 9 (1986): 1–52.

⁷⁰ For Machiavelli and the militia, see now Mikael Hornqvist, "Perche non si usa allegare i Romani: Machiavelli and the Florentine Militia of 1506," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 148–191 and John M. Najemy, "'Occupare la tirannide': Machiavelli, the Militia, and Guicciardini's Accusation of Tyranny," in *Della tirannia: Machiavelli con Bartolo*, ed. Jérémie Barthas (Florence, 2007), pp. 75–108.

⁷¹ Jolanda Ferretti, "L'organizzazione militare in Toscana durante il governo di Alessandro e Cosimo I de' Medici," *Rivista storica degli archivi toscani* 1 (1929), 248–275, 2 (1930), 58–80, 133–151, 211–219 (pp. 251–255).

⁷² Franco Angiolini, "Le Bande mediche tra «ordine» e «disordine»,", in *Corpi armati e ordine pubblico in Italia (XVI–XIX sec.)*, ed. Livio Antonielli and Claudio Donati (Soveria Mannelli, 2003), pp. 9–47 (p. 11).

in the militia. By the beginning of the seventeenth century between 200,000 and 250,000 Italian men were enrolled in the militias of the various states. Of these, Medici subjects represented between 17% and 22%. There was thus some truth in the recurrent image, highlighted by the Venetian ambassadors in their reports, of the grand duke having at his disposal an impressive number of armed subjects. There is no doubt that Tuscany had the highest percentage of inhabitants enrolled in the militia. While in most Italian states 2–3% of the population belonged to the militia, in Tuscany it was over 5%.⁷³

These men were called upon to risk their lives for the grand dukes. Apart from distinguishing themselves in the war of Siena, they served in Malta, Hungary, France, Portugal, and Cyprus during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as a consequence of the alliances with the Habsburgs and France.⁷⁴ But their most common use was in manning their local fortress or tower as well as those which lined the borders of the grand duchy.⁷⁵ Besides their defensive functions, these fortresses and towers served communities as stores for grain and wood. The bande thus provided the grand dukes with ways to both survey and sustain their subjects.⁷⁶ However, it was only in the early seventeenth century that the bande began to be involved in the maintenance of public order; before then responsibility lay with the police chiefs, the bargelli, and their officers, the sbirri.⁷⁷

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 17–18. Yet the military budget of the grand duchy was relatively small. Whilst Venice or Savoy, the two Italian states with the greatest military needs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, would spend between 40% and 50% of their revenues on war, the military expenditure of the grand dukes was much less. The greatest costs were caused by payments to maintain the galleys of the Order of Santo Stefano and to retain experts: artillerymen for coastal fortresses, foot and cavalry arquebusiers, engineers and military architects, see Enrico Stumpo, “Il fisco e le finanze,” in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 181–204 (p. 197).

⁷⁴ Ferretti, “L’organizzazione militare,” pp. 269–270; Angiolini, “Le Bande medicee,” p. 20.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 22. Apart from building and reinforcing citadels over all the towns of the state—there were three of them in Florence alone—the grand dukes had an ongoing programme to erect frontier fortifications. This made Tuscany one of the first territories possessing a coherent network of strongholds built along the Italian trace design. See Giorgio Spini, “Introduzione,” in *Architettura e politica da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I*, ed. Giorgio Spini (Florence, 1976), pp. 9–77; Luigi Zangheri, “Architettura e urbanistica,” in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 391–414 (pp. 394–396); Gregory Hanlon, “Glorifying War,” p. 252 n. 9.

⁷⁶ Angiolini, “Le Bande medicee,” p. 25.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 26–27.

As with the militia of other Italian states, membership of the *bande* brought fiscal, judicial, political, and social privileges. Militiamen with armour were exempted from all ordinary and extraordinary taxation raised by their communities whilst those who were without armour only had to pay a third. However, everyone had to pay the central taxation and the *gabelles*. Before a judge could pass sentence on a member of a *bande*, he had to inform the minister responsible, the *auditore delle bande*. Prison sentences could be commuted into fines. For minor offences by militiamen, prison sentences were not even an option. Members could not be arrested during periods of review. They were given more time in which to appeal. Members also had the right to be automatically included on the shortlists for public offices. They could refuse these offices without paying a fine. Finally, they had permission to bear arms, a socially exclusive right which was otherwise restricted to courtiers, salaried employees of the grand duke, knights of the Order of Santo Stefano, and knights of Malta. It was hoped that these privileges would attract men from good families to the *bande*, where they would serve without payment. In the event they often drew men from the lowest social classes, more interested in enjoying the benefits than in performing their military duties. The privileges were also divisive, especially in communities which could ill-afford the fiscal exemptions. The judicial rights of the *bande* were limited in 1606, when it was ordered that butchers, millers, and bakers who broke the law in exercising their professions, even if they were enrolled in the *bande*, would be subject to normal justice.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, despite their failings, the *bande* created important ties between the central power and the local oligarchies. This was also achieved, but at a far more elevated level, by the Order of Santo Stefano, Pope and Martyr.⁷⁹

Cosimo founded the Order on 15 March 1561 and it was approved by Pope Pius IV on 1 October 1561 with the aims of defending the faith, protecting the Mediterranean from Barbary pirates, and freeing Christian slaves. The Order was placed under the rule of Saint Benedict and the patronage of Saint Stephen was chosen as his feast day is 2 August and Cosimo had won important battles at Montemurlo on 1 August 1537 and at Scannagallo on 2 August 1554. In addition, Saint Stephen had also attracted the devotion of Cosimo's ancestor, Lorenzo

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–34, 37–41.

⁷⁹ Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 17.

il Magnifico. Cosimo was invested as grand master of the Order by the papal nuncio in the cathedral of Pisa on 15 March 1562. The Order's residence, the Palazzo della Caravana, and its church, the Chiesa di Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri, were built in Pisa by Giorgio Vasari. The Order was involved in the defence of Malta in 1565 and the battle of Lepanto in 1571 though in the reigns of Francesco and Ferdinando it turned its attention to fighting the Barbary pirates. Originally the Order was financed generously by Cosimo but it acquired further extensive property via donation until it became one of the biggest producers and sellers of grain in Tuscany. Modelled on the Knights Hospitaller, the Order was divided into three categories: the military knights or soldiers, the cavalieri militi di giustizia; priestly knights or chaplains, the cavalieri sacerdoti di obbedienza; and serving knights, the cavalieri serventi.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The first class was divided into those holding commanderies, usually called prebends or recettorie, and simple knights. They each had to prove that all their grandparents were noble. The members of the second class were divided into those holding benefices, who had to make the same proofs as the military knights, and those chaplains of obedience who served in the convent of the Order in Pisa. The members of the third class were divided into servants of arms, who were not required to prove nobility, and servants of office, who were not properly knights. To join the Order a postulant had to be at least eighteen years of age, able to meet the financial obligations of membership (for the first class a donation of 300 scudi per annum was required), make the necessary noble proofs, and not to be descended from heretics. There was a council of the Order which met regularly in one of the two convents at Pisa, composed of twelve military knights or noble priestly knights, of whom five grand crosses were elected for five-year terms at the chapter general of the Order. Attendance of the council was obligatory for all knights resident in Tuscany. The five elective officers of the Order were the grand constable who was in charge of the regiment, the grand prior of the convent who superintended the religious life of the brothers, the grand chancellor who regulated the judicial affairs, the treasurer-general who administered the treasure and bank accounts, and the conservator-general who was responsible for the administration of the benefices. The grand commander, the admiral, the grand hospitaller, the prior of the conventual church, and the provincial priors and bailiffs all held office for life or at the pleasure of the grand master. For the history, organisation, and membership of the Order, see Gino Guarnieri, *L'ordine di Santo Stefano*, 4 vols. (Pisa, 1966); Franco Angiolini, *I cavalieri e il principe. L'Ordine di Santo Stefano e la società toscana in età moderna* (Florence, 1996); and Guy Stair Sainty, "The Sacred Military Order of Santo Stefano, Pope and Martyr," in *World Orders of Knighthood and Merit*, ed. Guy Stair Sainty and Rafal Heydel-Mankoo, 2 vols. (London, 2006), Vol. 1, pp. 167–176. The Order did not always live up to its aims, see Franco Angiolini, "La nobiltà imperfetta: cavalieri e commende di S. Stefano nella Toscana moderna," *Quaderni storici* 26 (1991), 875–899. For the interest of Lorenzo in Saint Stephen, see Richard C. Trexler, "Lorenzo de' Medici and Savonarola, Martyrs for Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 31 (1978), 293–308 (pp. 299–301).

By guaranteeing the nobility of its members, the Order was conceived as a mark of the prestige of the grand duchy at a time when new emphasis was being placed on aristocracy and nobility across Europe.⁸¹ The Order was in fact very open to foreigners. Of the 1,385 knights created between 1562 and 1609, 60% came from beyond Tuscany. But the Order was also attractive to natives. In a region of merchants and fragmented local oligarchies such as Tuscany, the Order offered a single noble focus. Most of its Tuscan members were Florentine but there were also men from Siena, Pisa, and Pistoia, as well as smaller towns. With their social position assured, the profitable commenda which were distributed amongst the members of the Order compensated them for the erosion of their local powers.⁸² For the grand dukes, the Order allowed them to develop ties with their subjects which mirrored their own ties to the king of Spain. This control was strengthened by the Order's promotion of "the honoured exercise of arms" and "the courteous behaviour of gentlemen".⁸³

The Order embraced not only the nobility but also other institutions, particularly the Studio pisano. This linked the two organisations based in Pisa in which the grand dukes took the greatest interest.⁸⁴ From 1575 the prior of the Order's conventual church was the provveditore dello studio, who took daily care of the Studio.⁸⁵ In addition,

⁸¹ See Ronald G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition, 1550–1700: Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London, 2003) and Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁸² Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 18. For the evolution of the Tuscan nobility under the grand dukes, see Alessandra Contini, "Le nobiltà toscane e il potere mediceo tra Cinquecento e Seicento. A proposito di una recente discussione," in *Archivio storico italiano* 155 (1997): 735–754 and Jean Boutier, "Les noblesses du grand-duché (XV^e–XIX^e siècle)," in *Florence et la Toscane XIV^e–XIX^e siècles: Les dynamiques d'un État italien*, ed. Jean Boutier, Sando Landi, and Olivier Bouchon (Rennes, 2004), pp. 265–285. For Siennese members of the Order, see Bruno Casini, *I cavalieri dello stato senese membri del sacro militare ordine di S. Stefano papa e martire* (Pisa, 1993) and Gregory Hanlon, "The Decline of a Provincial Military Aristocracy: Siena 1560–1740," *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 64–108 (pp. 80–81).

⁸³ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 43.

⁸⁴ This point was noted though not explained further by Danilo Marrara, see Danilo Marrara, "I rapporti istituzionali tra lo Studio di Pisa e l'Ordine di Santo Stefano," in *L'ordine di S. Stefano e lo Studio di Pisa* (Pisa, 1993), pp. 33–41 (p. 38).

⁸⁵ Four men served in these positions between 1575 and 1609: Giovanni Toso (1575–1587); Cappone Capponi (1587–1603); Lodovico Corso (1603–1607); and Arturo Pannocchieschi d'Elci (1608–1614). For these men, see *I Priori della Chiesa conventuale di S. Stefano e provveditori dello Studio di Pisa*, ed. Danilo Marrara (Pisa, 1999), pp. 13–78. For the office of provveditore, see Chapter Three.

three knights became professors at the Studio,⁸⁶ five professors were knighted,⁸⁷ eighteen knights graduated⁸⁸ and three graduates became knights.⁸⁹ Relations between the Order and the Studio were not always tranquil. There were armed clashes involving knights and students and there was a dispute over precedence between the knights and the professors, which was eventually settled in favour of the knights.⁹⁰ But

⁸⁶ Antonio Curini was a cavaliere from 1590 as founder of a commendata. He taught civil law from 1592 to 1634. Francesco Gozzari was a cavaliere per giustizia from 1572. He taught civil law from 1574 to 1578. Paolo Ro was a cavaliere per giustizia from 1593. He taught civil law from 1598 to 1600. For these men, see Danilo Barsanti, "I funzionari e I lettori dello Studio di Pisa Cavalieri o Commendatori dell'Ordine di Santo Stefano," in *L'ordine di S. Stefano e lo Studio di Pisa* (Pisa, 1993), pp. 61–89 (pp. 75, 79, 85).

⁸⁷ Cappone Capponi taught civil and then canon law from 1557 to 1588. He was a cavaliere sacerdote nobile from 1587, prior from 1587, and provveditore from 1588. Francesco Falconetti taught civil and then canon law from 1600 to 1640. He was a cavaliere sacerdote nobile, inheriting a commendata founded by his father, from 1629. Pietro Girolami Orlandini taught civil and then canon law from 1607 to 1619. He was a cavaliere per giustizia from 1611. Paolo Ruschi taught canon law from 1608 to 1638. He was a cavaliere sacerdote nobile from 1634. Giovanni Uguccioni taught civil and then canon law from 1581 to 1592. He was a cavaliere per giustizia from 1591. Sforza Oddi taught civil law from 1588 to 1592. Although not a knight himself, he founded the Baliato di Narni, with which his son was invested as a knight in 1594. For these men, see *ibid.*, pp. 73, 78, 79, 82–83, 85, 87.

⁸⁸ Fausto Albergotti was knighted in 1569 and he graduated in 1574. Girolamo Branci was knighted in 1567 and he graduated in 1567. Niccolò Bulgarella was knighted in 1590 and he graduated in 1595. Ascanio Buompiani was knighted in 1581 and he graduated in 1583. Francesco Canali was knighted in 1586 and he graduated in 1590. Lorenzo Corsini was knighted on some unspecified date before he graduated in 1572. Angelo Cospì was knighted in 1578 and he graduated in 1587. Camillo Covo was knighted in 1607 and he graduated in 1608. Michele Griffoni was knighted in 1605 and he graduated in 1608. Vincenzo Guidi was knighted on some unspecified date before he graduated in 1570. Alamanno de' Medici was knighted in 1595 and he graduated in 1596. Tommaso Minerbeti was knighted in 1581 and he graduated in 1584. Sforza Montedoglio was knighted in 1572 and he graduated in 1575. Mario Orsini was knighted in 1562 and he graduated in 1573. Alessandro Pacci was knighted on some unspecified date before he graduated in 1571. Vincenzo Panciatichi was knighted in 1596 and he graduated in 1598. Cassiano Dal Pozzo was knighted on some unspecified date before he graduated in 1607. Andrea Tovaglia was knighted in 1590 and he graduated in 1597. For these men, see Giuliana Volpi Rosselli, "Cavalieri di Santo Stefano laureati all'Università di Pisa," in *L'ordine di S. Stefano e lo Studio di Pisa* (Pisa, 1993), pp. 177–187 (pp. 185–187).

⁸⁹ Giovanni Bonsi graduated in 1583 and he was knighted on some unspecified date after this. Niccolò Calefati graduated in 1570 and he was knighted in 1579. Filippo Maria Calefati graduated in 1576 and he was knighted in 1579. For these men, see *ibid.*, p. 187.

⁹⁰ Rodolfo Del Gratta, "Problemi giurisdizionali e di precedenza sorti fra l'Ordine di Santo Stefano e lo Studio pisano," in *L'ordine di S. Stefano e lo Studio di Pisa* (Pisa, 1993), pp. 91–99. For the violence involving knights and students, see Chapter Six.

despite these tensions the Order was a valuable instrument in state-building, an elite body linked both institutionally and emotionally with the Medici and their interests.

THE ADMINISTRATION

At the heart of the construction of the grand duchy lay administrative developments, especially the growth of ministries, the organisation of justice, and the management of taxation. As Elena Fasano Guarini has argued, it is essential to consider these developments in a longer historical context.⁹¹ Whilst important innovations were made, there were also significant continuities from the period of the republic. The result was an unresolved competition of interests. The situation was further exacerbated by the differing attitudes of the grand dukes to the bureaucracy and their own roles. Cosimo did not oversee a comprehensive transformation of the administrative structures of the dominion inherited from the republic and he did not acquire a degree of control greater than that achieved in most Italian states in the fifteenth century. It is within this context that the complicated development of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese should be understood.

The Tuscan experience would seem to support the argument that premodern Italian states saw “seasons of centralization [alternating] with those of fragmentation.”⁹² The metaphor of seasons certainly helps to highlight the non-linear growth of states. However, whether or not it is appropriate to speak at all of centralisation in these states has been a matter of debate. And rather than discussing ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’, it has been suggested that the concept of ‘system’ is more useful since it allows “a more complex view of peripheries organised as networks around economic, administrative, and power centers.”⁹³ With regard to grand ducal Tuscany, Elena Fasano Guarini argues that:

This was neither an ‘aggregation’, as [Angelo] Ventura claimed, nor a centralized state, according to Antonio Anzilotti’s old thesis, but a coherent system of power, regional in scope, within which the communities

⁹¹ Fasano Guarini, “Center and Periphery,” p. S83.

⁹² Anthony Molho, “The State and Public Finance: A Hypothesis Based on the History of Late Medieval Florence,” *The Journal of Modern History* 67, Supplement: The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600 (1995): pp. S97–S135 (p. S132).

⁹³ Fasano Guarini, “Center and Periphery,” pp. S95–S96.

continued to exist, with their functions and autonomies based on a persisting contractual system; meanwhile, the authority of the prince was strong, guaranteed by efficient instruments of control and wide-ranging government influence.⁹⁴

How did this system work? At first Cosimo sought to concentrate power in his own hands, as Alessandro had done. However, once he had secured his state with the return of the fortresses in 1543, he began a series of institutional reforms.⁹⁵ As Furio Diaz has argued, there was no comprehensive plan for the development of the government, but the main stages are clear.⁹⁶ The position of *auditore della giurisdizione* had been established in 1532 and was followed in 1543 by those of the *auditore delle riformagioni* and the *auditore fiscale*. By 1560 there were six new ministers of particular significance. The *auditore della camera* acted on behalf of the duke in judicial appeals. The *auditore della giurisdizione* was responsible for relations with the Church. Apart from managing the fisc, the *auditore fiscale* controlled criminal justice. The *auditore delle riformagioni* was in charge of the records of the privileges and statutes of the republic, which were fundamental in controlling the dominion. The *depositario generale* was the treasurer of the duke's assignment of public revenue. The *soprasindaco dei nove conservatori del dominio* supervised the rotating magistracies in charge of the communities of the dominion. All these ministers belonged to the *Pratica Segreta*, a private council of the duke which was created in 1547 without public discussion. Although its role was never defined, it was basically consultative and it was more concerned with jurisdictional and economic matters than with political ones. Cosimo continued to keep legislative power to himself as well as decisions on even minor affairs.⁹⁷ The jurisdiction of these ministers covered only the *stato vecchio* of Florence. Following the widespread reform of the *stato nuovo* of Siena in 1561, the ministers of the duke's lieutenant or governor in Siena included the *auditore reponsibile* for the Siennese courts, the *procuratore fiscale* who worked for the *auditore fiscale* in Florence,

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. S82.

⁹⁵ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," pp. 35, 37, 40.

⁹⁶ Diaz, *Il Granducato*, p. 85.

⁹⁷ For the *auditori* and the *Pratica*, see R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians 1530–1790* (Princeton, NJ, 1986), pp. 77–83, 95–96 and Domenichini, "Alle origini del principato cosimiano," pp. 33–42.

and the depositario who was in charge of the treasury. Together with a secretary, they formed the governor's consulta. Many of them came from the stato vecchio and they were all appointed in Florence.⁹⁸

The ministers and the secretaries of the stato vecchio were usually men of low social status and they came not from Florence but from the contado, the dominion, or even other states. As such, they were dependent on Cosimo's patronage.⁹⁹ They had to ensure they consulted him and they had to implement his decisions. Only exceptional figures such as Lelio Torelli, who served as the first secretary, the primo auditore, the auditore della camera, and the auditore della giurisdizione were granted any sort of autonomy by Cosimo.¹⁰⁰ But the independence of the ministers grew under Francesco, who deferred regularly to Torelli's successor, Bartolomeo Concini, as the Venetian ambassador noted: "...this prince not only does nothing without [Concini's] knowledge, but does not determine anything different from his opinion..."¹⁰¹ In 1576 Bartolomeo's son, Giovan Battista, was made auditore della camera and in 1579 Bartolomeo's son-in-law, Antonio Serguidi, was appointed first secretary alongside his father-in-law.¹⁰² It was perhaps to dilute the pervasive influence of the Concini which led Ferdinando to create three principal secretaries immediately following his accession in 1587. He also replaced Concini as auditore della camera by a consulta of three permanent auditori for matters of justice and grace.¹⁰³ Whilst the Concini declined, tight family groupings remained important during the reign of Ferdinando, who particularly favoured the Vinta and the Usimbardi. Like the Concini, both these families were non-Florentine.¹⁰⁴

The position of the ministers as outsiders, and their dependence on their masters, allowed the grand dukes to use them to counterbalance the

⁹⁸ Danilo Marrara, *Studi giuridici della Toscana Medicea* (Milan, 1965), pp. 177–254; Litchfield, *Emergence*, p. 122; Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 23.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁰ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 37. For Torelli, see now Domenichini, "Alle origini del principato cosimiano," pp. 99–103.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Litchfield, *Emergence*, p. 88. For Concini, see Paolo Malanima, 'Concini, Bartolomeo', *DBI*, Vol. 27, pp. 722–725 and Domenichini, "Alle origini del principato cosimiano," pp. 103–108.

¹⁰² Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 28.

¹⁰³ Litchfield, *Emergence*, p. 89.

¹⁰⁴ Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 28. For the Usimbardi, see also Fantoni, *La Corte del Granduca*, pp. 139–168.

three councils established by the 1532 constitution to check the power of the duke: the Consiglio dei Duecento, the Senato dei Quarantotto, and the Magistrato Supremo.¹⁰⁵ The creation of the ministries led to a longstanding quarrel over precedence with the Senato which was provisionally settled in 1588 when the ministers were given precedence over senators in all magistracies except the Magistrato Supremo.¹⁰⁶ The clash between the ministers and the councils highlights an important point about grand ducal government. Apart from the management of finances, Florentine patricians were largely excluded from the administration under Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando. It was only in the seventeenth century that, as R. Burr Litchfield has described, they conquered the bureaucracy.¹⁰⁷ There was a similar situation in Siena where the ministers rivalled the civic councils. However, the independence of these councils was limited. The Concistoro, which included all those who enjoyed the hereditary title of ‘cittadini del reggimento’, continued to function but it was replaced by a council whose members were appointed for life by the duke. From these men were chosen the twenty members of the Balìa who assisted the lieutenant in his daily business.¹⁰⁸

Of all the ministries created by Cosimo, particular significance for the building of the duchy lies in the formation of the magistracy of the Nove conservatori della giurisdizione e del dominio fiorentino in 1559 and the related establishment of a network of chancellors across the dominion who were appointed centrally. The Nove was formed by the merger of the Florentine magistracies which had traditionally been responsible for central interventions in the local government of communities and the management of their revenues, the Otto di Pratica and the Cinque conservatori del contado e del distretto. The Cinque had been reformed in 1548, 1551, and 1552 with Cosimo presenting these changes as necessary to protect collective interests against dominant groups in the communities. But in reality he was finding a way of interfering in local conflicts and of controlling communal finances. The creation of the Nove produced a single body of great power. Their budgetary authority covered all the expenses not explicitly stated in statutes. Their approval was required for every decision regarding

¹⁰⁵ Fasano Guarini, “La fondazione del Principato,” pp. 12–13.

¹⁰⁶ Litchfield, *Emergence*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 148–149.

¹⁰⁸ Fasano Guarini, “La fondazione del Principato,” p. 23.

the management, sale, or contract involving communal goods and revenues.¹⁰⁹ As with the other ministries, the jurisdiction of the Nove covered only the stato vecchio of Florence; from 1561 the stato nuovo of Siena had a similar body, the Quattro conservatori.¹¹⁰

According to Luca Mannori, it was via the Nove that the centre mediated daily in the internal conflicts of the local communities. He has described this process as the tutelage of the territory. More continuous forms of administrative intervention were added to the traditional 'judicial-punitive' methods. From the 1560s the Nove gradually succeeded in replacing (often in the face of violent resistance) chancellors chosen freely by communities with chancellors nominated centrally whose careers were tied to the centre.¹¹¹ The chancellors not only supervised justice and the collection of taxes, they regulated local life and they transmitted and enforced the orders of the grand dukes. They publicised his bans and police regulations and they imposed public works such as the construction of public buildings and waterworks.¹¹² According to the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Morosini, it was the network of chancellors which gave the lie to Ferdinando's boast of being an elected prince:

...truly in appearance that government is a tinged kind of republic since all the magistracies in Florence and the administrations in the cities and citadels are given to Florentines. But in each place, both within and without Florence, His Highness appoints chancellors who are dependent on him, who for the most part are not Florentine but Tuscan. These men handle the important matters, and it is according to their judgment, which in serious matters involves the grand duke, that everything runs and is ruled with such calm, that, though the old forms of government and liberty are forgotten almost by everyone, each person lives very safely.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 39 and Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 15.

¹¹⁰ Mannori, *Il sovrano tutore*, p. 150.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, *passim*; Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 16.

¹¹² Fasano Guarini, "Center and Periphery", p. S82.

¹¹³ Morosini, "Relazione," p. 331 "*E veramente nell'apparenza tiene quel governo qualche colorata forma di repubblica, poiché tutti li magistrati di Fiorenza e le commissarie delle città e castella si danno a' fiorentini; ma Sua Altezza, si dentro come fuori, deputa in ciascun luoco cancellieri dipendenti da sé, che per il più non sono fiorentini, ma del Stato, e questi regolano le cose di momento, e, secondo il parer di questi, che nelle cose gravi trae l'origine dal granduca, il tutto si opera e governa con tanta quiete, che, scordate ormai del tutto le antiche forme del governo e della libertà, cadauno vive vita securissima.*"

The complicated and conflicting mixture of the old and the new, the central and the local can be seen clearly with regard to law in the grand duchy. Florence had begun to acquire a territorial state in the early fourteenth century.¹¹⁴ Consciously imitating the ancient example of Justinian, new statutes were produced between 1408 and 1415 with the aim of bringing legal uniformity to those living in Florence and the subject territories, replacing the near chaos of the existing legislation. In practice, however, instead of overseeing harmonisation, the Florentines were forced to accept that local statute-making was a recognised right and an established fact. Accordingly, the number of local laws continued to grow during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Responding to very particular needs, these laws often contradicted themselves as well those of Florence and neighbouring communities. By the time of Cosimo's accession in 1537, legislation in Florentine Tuscany had become a "morass".¹¹⁵ Although Cosimo proposed legal uniformity, these proposals were fragmentary and they were contradicted by his respect for local autonomies and privileges. In 1546 he ordered that all those communities which had not yet reformed their own statutes should send a copy of them to Florence, affirming that their enforcement in areas which had not been touched by the new ducal legislation was essential for justice.¹¹⁶

Cosimo introduced a series of legal innovations. New laws were introduced relating to issues of social, religious, and moral importance: on 'malefici gravi' including homicides, sacriligious thefts, incest, and nefarious and damnable intercourse in 1542; on usury in 1545; on assassins in 1546; on crimes of lèse-majesté in 1549; on rape in 1558; and on duelling in 1570. These laws had several aims: removing disparity of treatment, limiting the discretion of judges, and encouraging legal uniformity across the state. Related to the last goal was the extension of the jurisdiction of some courts, notably the *Ruota fiorentina* as the supreme court of civil appeal, but also the *conservatori delle leggi* for cases regarding the poor and those unable to litigate and the *Otto*

¹¹⁴ For the development of the territorial state in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see the essays in *Lo Stato territoriale fiorentino (secoli XIV–XV). Ricerche, linguaggi, confronti*, ed. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Pisa, 2002). Many of the essays in this volume are translated in *Florentine Tuscany*, ed. Connell and Zorzi.

¹¹⁵ Jane Black, "Constitutional Ambitions, Legal Realities and the Florentine State," in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, ed. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 48–64. For legislation in the subject towns, see also Fasano Guarini, "Gli statuti delle città soggette," pp. 69–124.

¹¹⁶ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," pp. 38–39.

di Guardia for penal cases. These courts had republican origins and Florentine membership but the repeated reforms of procedures and administration promoted by Cosimo from the 1540s subjected them to ducal officers and more rigid rules.¹¹⁷ In 1571 the jurisdictions of the Sienese contado were reorganised, again according to the existing Florentine model. A more regular network of legal authorities was established, largely under the control of the governor and the capitano di giustizia of Siena.¹¹⁸ However, as stated, local as well as central government continued to generate new laws, producing more confusion.¹¹⁹ The situation was exacerbated further by supreme authority and the right to intervene personally in cases being vested in Cosimo, who interfered in sentences, changing laws and statutes, as Vincenzo Fedeli observed in 1561.¹²⁰ But it is important to note that the era of the great penal laws of Cosimo was brief.¹²¹ Furthermore, their father's model of the prince-legislator was followed by neither Francesco nor Ferdinando, who was openly averse to legal changes.¹²² Also, as mentioned, Ferdinando created a consulta which handled those questions of mercy and justice which Cosimo had jealously kept to himself and Francesco had delegated to his servants.¹²³

A similar picture emerges with regard to taxation. Faced by a major military and financial crisis in 1427, the Florentines began to extend the catasto, a uniform system for declaring landed wealth, across the territorial state. However, within only four years it had been revoked. As Giuseppe Petralia has noted:

The enactment of the catasto of 1427 was not only the first but also the last occurrence of such a sudden, sweeping, unilateral, and therefore 'illegitimate' act of fiscal aggression in the history of the Florentine regional state in Tuscany. It revealed discontent with the existing balance of power between the citizens of the subject towns and their contadi; in many instances, it violated written agreements; and most importantly, it limited the local prerogatives of urban and rural populations.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 38; Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 15.

¹¹⁸ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 43.

¹¹⁹ Black, "Constitutional ambitions," p. 49.

¹²⁰ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 38.

¹²¹ Elena Fasano Guarini, "Gli 'ordini di polizia' nell'Italia del '500: il caso toscano," in *Polizei im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Michael Stolleis (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 55–96 (p. 80).

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 80 and Fasano Guarini, "Produzione di leggi," pp. 682–684.

¹²³ Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 29.

¹²⁴ Giuseppe Petralia, "Fiscality, Politics and Dominion in Florentine Tuscany at the

Although the failure of the universal catasto did not reduce Florence's ability to gather information on the resources of the territorial state, there was a return to traditional structures of ordinary and extraordinary taxation.¹²⁵

As with the legal system, there was never a true fiscal unification of the subject towns throughout the entire period of the Medici principate. The fiscal burden continued to weigh in different ways on the cities and communities of the state, on the basis of agreements made in the era of the republic. Every city had obtained from Florence the right to pay a fixed annual levy in order that they be allowed to continue collecting their local taxes. In 1531 Arezzo agreed to pay 2,680 scudi whilst in 1532 Pescia settled for 300 scudi. In 1543 Prato promised an annual sum of 1,400 scudi, a figure which remained unchanged until 1774. In addition, every city, including minor centres, continued to manage its own revenues. These were used for local expenditure as well as to contribute to state taxes. Thus the tax burden was never equal as every city could decide on its own the procedures for collection. It was generally the responsibility of a camerlengo, chosen from amongst the citizens elected periodically to public office. The camerlengo managed all the city revenues and sometimes those of the state as well. In a few cities the salt and flour gabelles were farmed out but always to resident citizens.¹²⁶

As during the republic, the clergy, both regular and secular, also paid some taxes and here the Studio fiorentino and the Studio pisano had a key role to play. In 1429 Pope Martin V had permitted an annual tax of 1,500 florins to be levied on the clergy living in the Florentine dominion. This tax was to be used to pay for the Studio fiorentino. It was renewed intermittently during the remainder of the fifteenth century and from 1473 it was used to fund the Studio's bases in Florence and Pisa. From 1475 to 1503 it raised 5,000 ducats per annum.¹²⁷ In 1516 Pope Leo X approved the collection of taxes of 3,000 ducats a year for five years. This was increased to 5,000 ducats in 1521. The papal

End of the Middle Ages," in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, ed. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 65–89 (p. 68).

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 69.

¹²⁶ Stumpo, "Il fisco e le finanze," pp. 183, 189, 190, 191. For the camerlenghi, see also Elena Fasano Guarini, "Camerlenghi ed esazione locale delle imposte nel Granducato di Toscana del '500–'600," in *La fiscalité et ses implications sociales en Italie et en France au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Rome, 1980), pp. 29–49.

¹²⁷ Davies, *Florence and its University*, pp. 75–77.

privilege for the taxation of property acquired by the Church in the Florentine state prior to 1516 was confirmed periodically until 1564 when Pope Pius IV granted it in perpetuity. By the first half of the seventeenth century, the tax raised about 15,000 scudi a year.¹²⁸ Clergy in the stato nuovo of Siena did not pay taxes to support the Studio fiorentino and the Studio pisano. In 1419 Pope Martin V had allowed the Sienese government to collect 1,200 florins a year from its clergy to help to pay for the Studio senese though no details are known of its collection in the grand ducal period.¹²⁹ In accordance with another bull issued by Leo X in 1516, property acquired by the Church in Florence and its contado after that date, as well as the personal property of the clergy in those areas, was taxed as if it belonged to the laity so long as the tax did not exceed 20% of the annual income of these properties. This privilege was reinforced by a law of Cosimo I in 1548. According to this, when a lay property was in future to be given to the Church, it would have to be recorded in the tax registers of the old and the new owner, imposing a tax burden on the property and not on the owner. In the seventeenth century this contributed between 8–9,000 scudi a year to the decima granducale.¹³⁰

The distinction between ordinary taxation and extraordinary levies, which had existed in the republic, also continued in the principate. To pay for the war of Siena, Cosimo imposed a forced loan of 52,000 scudi in 1554 on Florence and its contado. In 1555 a general loan of 200,000 scudi was enforced which also involved citizens living abroad and, later, on the property of the charitable institutions (luoghi pii) and hospitals of the duchy. In all, thirteen extraordinary taxes were raised in four years but, once the war was over, these were slowly withdrawn.¹³¹

There were important fiscal innovations during Cosimo's reign. In 1545 a universal tax on all the communities of the dominion was introduced. It was fixed at 6,000 scudi a year though it was increased

¹²⁸ *I documenti pontifici riguardanti l'Università di Pisa*, ed. Carlo Fedeli (Pisa, 1908), pp. 72–73, 115–156 and Roberto Bizzocchi, “Politica fiscale e immunità ecclesiastica nella Toscana medicea fra Repubblica e Granducato (secoli XV–XVIII),” in *Fisco religione Stato nell'età confessionale*, ed. Hermann Kellenbenz and Paolo Prodi (Bologna, 1989), pp. 355–385 (pp. 361–366).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

¹³⁰ Antonio Zobi, *Storia civile della Toscana dal 1737 al 1848*, 5 vols. (Florence, 1850–1852), Vol. 1, Appendix, pp. 71–74; Bizzocchi, “Politica fiscale,” p. 367; Gaetano Greco, “Controriforma e disciplinamento cattolico,” in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 239–272 (p. 267).

¹³¹ Stumpo, “Il fisco e le finanze,” pp. 185, 187.

later. It paid for the *bande* and it was divided amongst the communities according to their respective local tax assessments. However, the most significant change in the fiscal system came with the war of Siena. To help to pay for the conflict, *gabelles* on flour and meat were established. Together with the existing salt *gabelle*, they would remain at the heart of state finances throughout the principate.¹³² The growth of direct and indirect taxation, plus the chancellors' supervision of its collection, met with significant success. Before the war of Siena, Arezzo paid around 5,000 scudi per annum into the state coffers. Between 1551 and 1580 this rose to 14,000 scudi a year, an increase of almost 300%. By 1570 direct and indirect taxation across the grand duchy raised about 700,000 scudi a year.¹³³

THE ECONOMY

The power of the state depended on its ability to raise taxation, which in turn rested on the strength of the economy. How far did the grand dukes set out to improve the economy? How much did they achieve?

Although our knowledge of the economic projects of Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando is still fragmentary, large claims have been made for their interventions. According to Richard Goldthwaite,

The energy and persistence with which the dukes pursued these interests leave no doubt about their determination to strengthen the economy. It was an extraordinary policy, much ahead of its time, and it clearly arose from Cosimo's initiatives and enthusiasm.¹³⁴

It has even been suggested that Cosimo created an authentic political economy, shaped by the belief that "...there was an ordered economic realm that followed its own laws and that could be manipulated within limits toward certain economic and political ends," and that he pursued

¹³² Stumpo, "Il fisco e le finanze," p. 185. The level of the *gabelles* varied between Florence, Pisa, Pistoia, and Arezzo, see *ibid.*, p. 194.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹³⁴ Richard A. Goldthwaite, "Artisans and the Economy in Sixteenth-Century Florence," in Cristina Acidini Luchinat *et al.*, *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 85–93 (p. 86).

this policy with an “activism aimed at the transformation of the entire economy.”¹³⁵

The economic policies of the grand dukes involved both continuity and change. Some republican institutions were preserved. For example, the merchants’ court, the Mercanzia, continued to guarantee the inviolability of contracts. But others, such as the guilds, were restructured to make them more efficient. Existing industries were still favoured. The grand dukes systematically promoted sericulture in the countryside and they created a second focus of production at Pisa. Mining was encouraged across the state, particularly by Francesco who was very interested in alchemy. Other industries were founded. Sugar manufacture was set up and Flemings were brought to Florence to develop tapestry-making and printing. Spies were sent to Venice to learn the secrets of glassmaking. Industrial innovation, especially regarding textiles, was supported by the issuing of privileges and patents, particularly by Francesco and Ferdinando.¹³⁶

International trade, a traditional mainstay of the Florentine economy, was also fostered. Central to this was the development of Livorno. In 1560 work began on a canal linking Pisa and Livorno, which became an important port for trade with the Levant. From 1572 there were plans to expand Livorno, though it was only in 1590 that work began. The cost was enormous and labour was used from slaves and prisoners. The need for the new port became increasingly pressing because of the recurrent famines of the 1590s and Livorno developed into the centre for the import of grain from southern France, England, and the Baltic.

¹³⁵ Judith C. Brown, *In the Shadow of Florence: Provincial Society in Renaissance Pescia* (Oxford, 1982), p. 281.

¹³⁶ Goldthwaite, “Artisans,” p. 86. For a survey of industrial production across the grand duchy, see Francesco Battistini, “L’industria, tra città e campagna,” in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 159–180. For the silk industry, see Francesco Battistini, *Gelsi, bozzoli e caldaie. L’industria della seta in Toscana tra città, borghi e campagne* (Florence, 1998) and Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore, 2000). For mining, see Magda Fabretti and Anna Guidarelli, “Ricerche sulle iniziative dei Medici nel campo minerario da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I,” in *Potere centrale e strutture periferiche nella Toscana del ’500*, ed. Giorgio Spini (Florence, 1980), pp. 139–217. For tapestry-making, see Philip Gavitt, “An Experimental Culture: the Art of Economy and the Economy of Art under Cosimo I and Francesco I,” in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 205–221. For printing, see Antonio Ricci, “Lorenzo Torrentino and the Cultural Programme of Cosimo I de’ Medici,” in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 103–119.

The grain was sold in Tuscany and also resold abroad, earning both profits and political advantage for Ferdinando. By the early seventeenth century Livorno had become the second city in the state.¹³⁷ It certainly impressed Sir Robert Dallington in 1605. He noted:

Here is bestowed great cost, being indeed the onely Keye by which all commodities are transported and brought in, not onely for the use of Tuscany, but even for the most places of Italy, so that it bringeth in a very great entrate to the great Duke's coffers.¹³⁸

As Dallington's comment highlights, the economic development of the dominion by the grand dukes saw a mixture of private and public interests. Once the fortresses were returned, Cosimo and Eleanora were busy with developing the family patrimony.¹³⁹ Giuseppe Parigino has revealed how this patrimony grew at an extraordinary rate between 1543 and 1609, in part through the purchase of marshy lands which were either drained or fished or turned into rice fields.¹⁴⁰ Their vast landholdings, as well as their political position, allowed the grand dukes to control the supply of grain from Medici farms to public institutions as well as to command iron foundries and silver, alum, and copper mines.¹⁴¹

Since Pisa had long been a focus of Medici investment, it is unsurprising that the overlap of the private and public in the grand dukes' policies

¹³⁷ For the development of Livorno, see L. Frattarelli Fischer, "Livorno città nuova: 1574–1609," *Società e Storia* 46 (1989): 872–893; *Merci e monete a Livorno in età granducale* (Milan and Livorno, 1997); Thomas Kirk, "Genoa and Livorno: Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Commercial Rivalry as a Stimulus to Policy Development," *History* 86 (2001): 3–17; and Samuel Fettah, "Livourne: cité du Prince, cité marchande (XVI^e–XIX^e siècle)," in *Florence et la Toscane XIV^e–XIX^e siècles: Les dynamiques d'un État italien*, ed. Jean Boutier, Sando Landi, and Olivier Bouchon (Rennes, 2004), pp. 179–195.

¹³⁸ Dallington, *Survey*, p. 7.

¹³⁹ Parigino, *Il tesoro del principe*, pp. 27–114. The importance of Eleanora to the economic improvement of the duchy may be recorded in the state portrait of her with her son Giovanni painted in 1545 by Agnolo Bronzino. The marshy landscape in the background may allude to the area around Pisa, see Langdon, *Medici Women*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁴⁰ Parigino, *Il tesoro del principe*, passim. For the drainage of lands, see Elena Fasano Guarini, "Regolamentazione delle acque e sistemazione del territorio," in *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici* (Pisa, 1980), pp. 43–47; *La legislazione medicea sull'ambiente*, ed. Giovanni Cascio Pratilli and Luigi Zangheri, 3 vols. (Florence, 1994), Vol. 1: 1485–1619; and Anna Maria Pult Quaglia, "L'agricoltura," in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 135–158 (pp. 136–137).

¹⁴¹ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 39 and Fasano Guarini, "Ferdinando I de' Medici," p. 265.

was particularly noticeable there.¹⁴² Between 1546 and 1551 a series of measures were initiated to benefit Pisa and its contado: privileges were given to those who introduced the working of wool; Jews and Marranos were encouraged to settle there; the arsenal was opened; exemptions and immunities were promised to new urban and rural immigrants; the reclamation of land was promoted by a more equal distribution of costs and a more efficient administration. The economic development of Pisa was also encouraged by Ferdinando, as can be seen from the *Legge, costituzioni et ordini* issued in 1587 which began a series of reforms to improve the environment and wealth of Pisa and its surrounding area. This included moving the mouth of the Arno between 1604 and 1608.¹⁴³ Together with the expansion of Livorno, the development of Pisa should be seen as a serious attempt to create an economic hub to rival that of Florence. But the impact of these policies was limited, if we are to believe Dallington, who wrote:

...Pisa, a Cittie in former times very populous as any in Tuscany, now so dispeopled as there are not judged above fourteene thousand persons, though in circuite it be little lesse than Florence...¹⁴⁴

The Venetian ambassadors were somewhat more positive. They thought Tuscany a "...most fertile country...abundant in all the things necessary for human life...quite comfortable thanks to its industry and culture."¹⁴⁵ They also judged that the profits from textile exports were several times greater than in the fifteenth century. And it took a Venetian to fully appreciate that "...there is not a trading centre in the world where

¹⁴² For Medici investment in Pisa in the fifteenth century, see Michael Mallett, "Pisa and Florence in the Fifteenth Century: Aspects of the Period of the First Florentine Domination," in *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (London, 1968), pp. 403–441 (p. 433) and Amanda Lillie, "Lorenzo de' Medici's Rural Investments and Territorial Expansion," *Rinascimento*, 2d ser., 33 (1993): 53–67 (p. 59). For their investment there in the sixteenth century, see Parigino, *Il tesoro del principe*, passim.

¹⁴³ Fasano Guarini, "Cosimo I de' Medici," p. 40; Fasano Guarini, "La fondazione del Principato," p. 32. For the development of Pisa by the grand dukes, see *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici*; Riccardo Ciuti, *Pisa medicea: Itinerario storico artistico tra cinque e seicento* (Pisa, 2003); Rita Mazzei, *Pisa medicea. L'economia cittadina da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III* (Florence, 1991); Rita Mazzei, "Economia e società a Pisa nella seconda metà del Cinquecento", in *L'Ordine di Santo Stefano e lo Studio di Pisa* (Pisa, 1993), pp. 43–60; and Renzo Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591–1700)* (Florence, 1990).

¹⁴⁴ Dallington, *Survey*, pp. 21–22.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Goldthwaite, "Artisans," p. 86.

Florentines do not have plenty of capital, so that one can understand how commercial the city is.”¹⁴⁶

Nevertheless, Dallington’s remark about Pisa is a useful reminder that, despite their notable economic achievements, the grand dukes did not always meet with success. As Goldthwaite has observed, the picture of the Tuscan economy in the sixteenth century is “not without its heavy shadows and threatening clouds.” Despite its vitality, it did not experience structural changes. Although significant capital was accrued, there was little investment in technical or organisational innovations. Finally, whilst Livorno grew rapidly, Florence itself was not a port and therefore it did not develop a financial infrastructure similar to that which existed at Antwerp and which would appear later at Amsterdam. The clearest sign of the limits of economic growth can be seen in wages not rising in line with prices. This led to widespread poverty by the end of the sixteenth century. However, it is important to note that the discrepancy between wages and prices was a pan-European problem in this period.¹⁴⁷

THE CHURCH

As elsewhere, the Church was the strongest non-state institution in Tuscany and, as with other institutions in the grand duchy, the relations between the Church and the state developed along traditional as well as non-traditional lines.

The importance of the Church in early modern Tuscany cannot be exaggerated. Apart from its religious role, its wideranging interests forced the laity to defend themselves in ecclesiastical courts.¹⁴⁸ It possessed enormous wealth and this increased significantly following the Council of Trent, when a resurgence in lay piety led to a continuous

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁷ Goldthwaite, “Artisans,” p. 87. For poverty in early modern Tuscany, see B. Licata and A. Vanzulli, “Grano, carestie, banditismo in Toscana ai tempi di Francesco I de’ Medici,” in *Architettura e politica da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I*, ed. Giorgio Spini (Florence, 1976), pp. 331–460 and Maria Fubini Leuzzi, “Le istituzioni assistenziali in Toscana in età moderna. Una rassegna storiografica attraverso gli ultimi decenni,” in *La Toscana in Età Moderna (secoli XVI–XVIII). Politica, istituzioni, società: studi recenti e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. Mario Ascheri and Alessandra Contini (Florence, 2005), pp. 229–259.

¹⁴⁸ Greco, “Controriforma e disciplinamento,” p. 242.

and unending flow of revenue towards the local churches.¹⁴⁹ As a Guelf stronghold, Florence had longstanding ties with the papacy. Although these were weakened in the 1540s with tensions between the Medici and the Farnese over the control of central Italy and Cosimo's arrest of Dominican supporters of Savonarola resulting in the threat of his excommunication, relations had improved substantially by the 1560s with the election of pro-Medici popes and the granting of the grand ducal title by Pius V.¹⁵⁰ The clearest sign of the importance given to Rome by the grand dukes is Ferdinando's service as cardinal from 1562 to 1589.¹⁵¹

The wide-ranging significance of the Church had led the republic to seek to control it as the territorial state grew in the fifteenth century.¹⁵² The grand dukes also sought power over it and its resources and they adopted some of the same methods as had been used during the republic. The taxation of ecclesiastical property has already been mentioned. There was also the vexed question of borders. Although the archdioceses of Florence and Pisa were provinces of the Church, neither of them corresponded to the boundaries of the Florentine dominion. The situation was exacerbated with the enfeoffment of Siena whose civil jurisdiction did not match the ecclesiastical one either. As during the republic, the grand dukes asked the papacy to adapt the dioceses to

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 268–269; Giuseppe Pallanti, “La proprietà della chiesa e degli enti di Firenze e contado dai primi del Cinquecento alla fine del Seicento,” *Ricerche storiche* 13 (1983): 71–94. However, it is important to note that this wealth was not equally distributed across Tuscany. Whilst the archbishopric of Pisa had an annual income of between 9,000 and 10,000 scudi, and the archbishoprics of Florence and Siena received about 5,000 and 2,500 scudi a year, the financial position was hand-to-mouth for bishoprics such as Borgo San Sepolcro, Colle Val d'Elsa, Montalcino, Pescia, Pienza, and San Miniato. For Pisa, see Gaetano Greco, “La ‘primazia’ della Chiesa pisana nell'età moderna: il titolo come onore e come strumento,” in *Nel IX Centenario della metropoli ecclesiastica di Pisa*, ed. Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Stefano Sodi (Pisa, 1995), pp. 249–306. For the other dioceses, see Gaetano Greco, “I vescovi del Granducato nell'età medicea,” in *Istituzioni e società in Toscana nell'età moderna* (Florence, 1994), Vol. 2, pp. 655–680 (pp. 656–658). Available online at http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/nuovosito/fileadmin/template/allegati_media/libri/istituzioni_2/Ist2_Greco.pdf; accessed 6 Sept. 2007).

¹⁵⁰ Fasano Guarini, “Cosimo I de' Medici,” p. 36.

¹⁵¹ For Ferdinando as cardinal, see Elena Fasano Guarini, “‘Rome, Workshop of all the Practices of the World’: From the Letters of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici to Cosimo I and Francesco I,” in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 53–77.

¹⁵² Roberto Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Bologna, 1987).

the new political borders but the process of redrawing the ecclesiastical map continued until the early nineteenth century.¹⁵³

Church appointments were inevitably a key issue. In the fifteenth century the Florentine government had been largely successful in influencing the right to nominate to the major vacant sees, as was recognised by Pope Sixtus IV in a letter of 13 January 1475, but it was only with Cosimo that standard practices were developed whereby the pope appointed to the Tuscan bishoprics men chosen by the prince. On the death of a bishop in the *stato vecchio*, the grand duke sent the pope a list of four names, from which the first was usually appointed as the person 'recommended'.¹⁵⁴ The situation in the *stato nuovo* was slightly different. For sees which fell vacant there, the *Balia* of Siena was expected to produce a list of names which was then forwarded to the pope in the name of the grand duke by his ambassador. In practice, the *Balia* did not always produce a list on time, alarming Florence which feared the loss of the right.¹⁵⁵ In the two centuries of the Medici grand duchy 231 prelates were appointed to 261 episcopal vacancies: 166 in the *stato vecchio* and 95 in the *stato nuovo*. Ninety of the bishops were Florentine, of whom 90% were patrician, and seventy were Siennese, with a similarly high percentage of patricians.¹⁵⁶ Of the 231 men who were appointed during the Medici principate, almost half were graduates of either the *Studio pisano* or the *Studio senese*.¹⁵⁷ Appointments did not always go smoothly. Francesco failed to have Giovanni Altoviti made archbishop of Pisa because of his notoriety as a simoniac.¹⁵⁸

In addition, the grand dukes's ability to control the Church in Tuscany was occasionally hampered by difficult relations with occupants of the major sees. From 1548 the archbishop of Florence was Antonio Altoviti, the son of Bindo Altoviti, an open enemy of Cosimo. As a result of political banishment, Antonio had to wait twenty years to take personal possession of his see. There were also difficulties in Siena whose archbishop from 1529 to 1588 was Francesco Bandini, a tireless defender of the republican liberty of Siena. Since he could not return to Siena after its conquest by Florence, three coauditor bishops

¹⁵³ Greco, "Controriforma e disciplinamento," p. 244.

¹⁵⁴ Greco, "I vescovi del Granducato," pp. 658–660.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 662.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 664–665.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 660–661.

were appointed with a right to succeed him and Ascanio Piccolomini did so on Altoviti's death.¹⁵⁹

Exercising control over senior ecclesiastical appointments was the primary means by which the grand dukes influenced the Tuscan Church, but there were others. As mentioned, in 1532 the post of *auditor della giurisdizione* had been created. He was responsible for issues relating to the benefices as well as other matters where state interests confronted those of the Church. Following the conquest of Siena, his duties extended into the *stato nuovo*, even if, for about 150 years, the actual implementation was carried out by offices based in Siena.¹⁶⁰ The Church was also influenced by the reforms undertaken by Cosimo in the reorganisation of local administration. The *nove conservatori* kept an eye on the expenditure of communities, agencies, and the '*luoghi pii*' which were dependent on them.¹⁶¹ Control of the Church was also exercised by ducal influence on the papal nunciature, which was established in Florence in 1560. The creation of the nunciature had positive effects both for ducal power and for the subjects. The latter had recourse to a court of appeal which was less expensive than those in Rome. The government could control more easily the actions of a judge who was only formally regarded as the ambassador of the pope. In practice, cases were prepared and discussed by '*auditori*' of the nunciature, chosen by the duke from amongst loyal churchmen, experts in law but also canons of the cathedral of Florence or the basilica of San Lorenzo. These men were sometimes rewarded for their loyalty to the prince with promotion to a bishopric.¹⁶²

Nevertheless, despite the traditional and the new approaches, the power of the grand dukes over the Church in Tuscany continued to be limited.¹⁶³ During the fifteenth century the new subjects of Florence had suffered the violent seizure of property and revenues accumulated over centuries and dedicated not only for the glory of God but also for the material well-being of family members and communities. As in Sicily and Lombardy, this deprivation was seen as a robbery and it kept alive resentment in the new subject cities. Gaetano Greco has suggested

¹⁵⁹ Greco, "Controriforma e disciplinamento," pp. 247–248.

¹⁶⁰ Elena Taddei, "L'auditorato della giurisdizione negli anni di governo di Cosimo I," in *Potere centrale e strutture periferiche nella Toscana del '500*, ed. Giorgio Spini (Florence, 1980), pp. 27–76.

¹⁶¹ Greco, "Controriforma e disciplinamento," p. 268.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 244–245.

¹⁶³ Litchfield, *Emergence*, p. 95.

that Cosimo was aware of the risks of this situation for the political stability of his state and that he actively sought a consensus among urban and rural families and communities. Nevertheless, by focusing on minor ecclesiastical benefices and convents, this was done without losing the consistent profits from ecclesiastical wealth which he gave to his family, allies, clients, and servants. But this golden age did not last. In the final quarter of the sixteenth century the institutions and the personnel of the Tuscan church were disturbed by the acceleration in disciplinary reform promoted by the papacy.¹⁶⁴

In accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, papal visitors arrived in Florence, Pisa, and Siena in April 1575. They met with fierce resistance. In March 1576 the government of Siena warned the grand duke of the visitors' decision to close four convents, which would force the nuns into destitution. The visitors' excommunication of several administrators of the *luoghi pii* in Volterra led to further intervention by Francesco.¹⁶⁵ The Inquisition also caused difficulties. The Florentine court of the Inquisition, which had existed since the Middle Ages, was reorganised with the name of a 'deputation' formed of three (later four) commissars appointed by the Congregation of the Holy Office. When the nunciature was created, the court of the Inquisition was initially placed among the responsibilities of the nuncio. However, Pius V later removed nuncios from involvement in the suppression of heresy. As in other Italian states, there were physical fights and excommunications involving the representatives of the Holy Office and the Tuscan civil authorities. In 1579 Francesco managed to block the Inquisition in the affair of the *crocesignati*, a lay association which had appeared in Siena to help the inquisitors by denouncing people. Francesco succeeded in dissolving this group and thereafter the inquisitors in Pisa and Siena focused their attention on the universities and several professors were imprisoned. However, after the physical elimination of the last residues

¹⁶⁴ Greco, "Controriforma e disciplinamento," p. 240. For the reform in Tuscany, see now Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, "La riforma, tra Lucca, Siena e Firenze," in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 207–238.

¹⁶⁵ Arnaldo D'Addario, *Aspetti della Controriforma a Firenze* (Rome, 1972), pp. 162–168 and Philippe Castagnetti, "Le Prince et les institutions ecclésiastiques sous les grands-ducs Médicis," in *Florence et la Toscane XIV^e–XIX^e siècles: Les dynamiques d'un État italien*, ed. Jean Boutier, Sando Landi, and Olivier Rouchon (Rennes, 2004), pp. 303–320 (pp. 304–305).

of Protestant heresy, the Tuscan courts of the Inquisition operated with a certain moderation.¹⁶⁶

Historians have seen a progressive weakening at the end of the sixteenth century of the ecclesiastical policy inspired by Cosimo. The turning point came between the debates held in the *Pratica Segreta* on 24 March and 8 April 1592 and those held in the *Senato* on 24 and 31 January 1594 regarding the possible limitation of the buying of property by church bodies and churchmen. In these years, in Tuscany as elsewhere, the Church was successfully managing to recover part of its patrimony which had been lost during the crisis of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Church was also revising the criteria by which its property was given temporarily to the laity. In addition there was a rush of lay donations and bequests to the Church. As a result, the increase in the 'dead hand' of the Church became particularly noticeable. However, unlike Venice, Ferdinando and the ruling class of the grand duchy chose not to intervene so as to avoid a direct confrontation with the papacy.¹⁶⁷

Greco has argued the Tuscan Church prospered at the end of the sixteenth century. The new discipline of the clergy may have permitted the opening of large areas of autonomy for rural churches. This was an autonomy based on the growth of the local church patrimony, generated by a clergy which was born and bred locally, chosen and supervised by the local ruling class. If this analysis is correct, it was a rather different situation from that which existed for more than a century prior to the accession of Cosimo. When taken together with the occasional difficulties over appointments, Greco's verdict suggests that not only was the grand dukes' powers limited but that the state's control of the Tuscan Church diminished under them.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Greco, "Controriforma e disciplinamento," p. 245; Castagnetti, "Le Prince," p. 315. For the imprisonment of professors, see Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato*, Vol. 4, pp. 100–101.

¹⁶⁷ Greco, "Controriforma e disciplinamento," pp. 269–270.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURAL POLITICS IN EARLY MODERN TUSCANY

In the oration which he gave on the death of Cosimo I in 1574, Bernardo Davanzati declared that:

Florence, to speak the truth...(and not to praise her amongst we Florentines—which is easy to do, and which one could spend all one's time doing) is the city that rules, subject to no foreign power, a colony and imitator of Rome, ruler of peoples, centre of Italy, flower of talents, honoured of letters, master of the arts, mirror of civilisation, coffer of money, wonder of buildings, beauty of the World.¹

Clearly Davanzati, like the other eulogists of Cosimo, was imitating classical models of praise. Nevertheless, the picture which Davanzati painted of Florence would have been as recognisable in the sixteenth century as it is today.²

Traditionally it is the cultural patronage of the fifteenth-century Medici, especially Cosimo il Vecchio and Lorenzo il Magnifico, which has attracted attention.³ Yet if the reigns of Cosimo I, Francesco I, and Ferdinando I were not a Golden Age for arts and letters, they

¹ Bernardo Davanzati, "Orazione in morte del Granduca Cosimo recitata nell'Accademia degli Alterati," in *Scisma d'Inghilterra con altre operette del Signor Bernardo Davanzati Bostichi* (Bassano, 1782), pp. 120–134 (p. 121): "Perchè Firenze, per vero dire, (e non per lodarla qui tra noi Fiorentini; ch' agevol cosa fora, e d'uopo non ce ne ha) è Città dominante, non soggett'a potenza forestiera, Colonia, e imitatrice di Roma, domatrice di popoli, centro d'Italia, fior d'ingegni, onor delle lettere, maestra d'arti, specchio di civiltà, arca di danari, stupore d'edifici, bellezza del Mondo."

² For the panegyrics and biographies of Cosimo, see Carmen Menchini, *Panegirici e vite di Cosimo I de' Medici: tra storia e propaganda* (Florence, 2005); Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 185–190, 235–237.

³ The scholarship on this patronage is vast. For introductions, see Ernst Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E. F. Jacob (London, 1960), 279–311; John T. Paoletti, "Strategies and structures of Medici artistic patronage in the 15th century," in *The Early Medici and their Artists*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (London, 1995), pp. 19–36; Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven and London, 2000); James Hankins, "Lorenzo de' Medici as a Patron of Philosophy," *Rinascimento*, 2d ser., 34 (1994): 15–53; F. W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore, 2004).

were, at the least, a Silver Age.⁴ Indeed the face of Florence was altered far more by the grand dukes than it had been by their ancestors. The historic seat of government, the Palazzo della Signoria, was transformed architecturally and decoratively after it became the ducal residence in 1540. Between 1560 and 1581 the Uffizi was built to house the administration and the outstanding art collection of the Medici. From 1565 the Uffizi was connected by the Corridoio Vasariano to the Palazzo Pitti, which was the home of Cosimo and his family after 1550. To protect the city, and to demonstrate Medici power, the Forte Belvedere was built at the top of the Boboli Hill between 1590 and 1595. To ensure that the grand dukes and their families were housed as magnificently in death as they had been in life, work began in 1604 on the Chapel of the Princes in the Basilica of San Lorenzo. The Medici court was once dismissed as “incorrigibly provincial”.⁵ Yet it created, developed, and spread cultural forms which extended from the visual arts to science, historiography, music, and linguistic study. Florentine festivals and the elaborate celebrations of Medici baptisms, marriages, and funerals had an enormous influence on theatre and on the staging of public spectacle. The cultural impact of grand ducal Florence was felt in France, Spain, and even England.⁶

⁴ For the Medici and the Golden Age, see E. H. Gombrich, “Renaissance and Golden Age,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24 (1961): 306–309. For surveys of cultural production between 1537 and 1609, see *Architettura e politica dal Cosimo I a Ferdinando I*, ed. Giorgio Spini (Florence, 1976); Franco Borsi, *L'Architettura del Principe* (Florence, 1980); *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1983); Carlo Cresti, *L'architettura del Seicento a Firenze: la prima organica e completa ricognizione delle esperienze* (Rome, 1990); Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici with a Reconstruction of the Artistic Establishment* (Florence, 1993); *Magnificenza alla corte dei Medici. Arte a Firenze alla fine del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1997); *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge, 1998); *The Cultural Politics*, ed. Eisenbichler, *passim*; Cristina Acidini, *et al.*, *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven and London, 2002); *I volti del potere. La ritrattistica di corte nella Firenze granducale*, ed. Caterina Caneva (Florence, 2002); Massimiliano Rossi, “Arte e potere,” in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 415–438; Zangheri, “Architettura e urbanistica,” pp. 391–414; *The Cultural World*, ed. Eisenbichler, *passim*.

⁵ Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, p. 155.

⁶ Marcello Fantoni, “The Courts of the Medici 1532–1737” in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750*, ed. John Adamson (London, 1999), pp. 255–273, 334–335 (p. 256). For the Medici court, see also Fantoni, *La Corte del Granduca*, *passim*; Helene Chauvineau, “La cour des Médicis (1543–1737),” in *Florence et la Toscane XIV^e–XIX^e siècles. Les dynamiques d'un État italien*, ed. Jean Boutier *et al.* (Rennes, 2004), pp. 287–301. For ceremonies and festivals, see Eve Borsook, “Art and Politics at the Medici Court I: The Funeral of Cosimo I de’

What inspired this extensive, high quality, and influential cultural policy? In a major new study, Henk Van Veen argues that it has never been properly understood.⁷ “In the art and architecture [Cosimo] ordered in the city,” he observes, “art historians have consistently traced his development from a minor player on the Italian political stage to a powerful, absolutist prince.”⁸ For Van Veen, scholars continue to be swayed by the article on the portraits of Cosimo which Kurt Forster published in 1971.⁹ Cosimo’s foundation of the Accademia del Disegno

Medici”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 12 (1965): 31–54; Eve Borsook, “Art and Politics at the Medici Court II: The Baptism of Filippo de’ Medici in 1577”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 12 (1967): 95–114; Andrew C. Minor and Bonner Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539* (Columbia, 1968); Eve Borsook, “Art and Politics at the Medici Court III: Funeral Decor for Philip II of Spain”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1969): 91–114; Giovanna Gaeta Bertalà and Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, *Feste e apparati medicei da Cosimo I a Cosimo II* (Florence, 1969); Florindo Cerreta, “The Entertainments for the Baptism of Eleonora de’ Medici in 1568 and a Letter by Girolamo Bargagli,” *Italica* 59 (1982): 284–295; Piero Marchi, “Le feste fiorentine per le nozze di Maria de’ Medici nell’anno 1600,” in *Rubens e Firenze*, ed. Mina Gregori (Florence, 1983), pp. 85–101; Tim Carter, “A Florentine Wedding of 1608,” *Acta musicologica* 55 (1983): 89–107; Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe: La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale*, with a foreword by Richard C. Trexler (Venice, 1996); James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven, 1996); Robert Ketterer, “Classical Sources and Thematic Structure in the Florentine *Intermedi* of 1589,” *Renaissance Studies* 13 (1999): 192–222; Iain Fenlon, “Rites of Passage: Cosimo I de’ Medici and the Theatre of Death”, in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 162–179; Iain Fenlon, “Preparations for a Princess: Florence 1588–1589”, in *ibid.*, pp. 205–228; Matteo Casini, “La corte, i cerimoniali, le feste,” in *Storia della civiltà toscana, III. Il principato*, ed. Elena Fasano Guarini, (Florence, 2003), pp. 461–484. For the influence of the decoration of the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio on Rubens’ cycle on the life of Marie de Médicis and on his decoration of the Banqueting House in Whitehall, see Elizabeth McGrath, “Tact and Topical Reference in Rubens’s ‘Medici Cycle’,” *Oxford Art Journal* 3/2 (1980): 11–17.

⁷ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 5, 191 n. 3. As evidence of this lack of understanding, Van Veen singles out *The Cultural Politics*, ed. Eisenbichler.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4. The article is Kurt W. Forster, “Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de’ Medici,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971): 65–101.

⁹ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 4. According to him, the “most salient examples” of this approach are Paul W. Richelson, *Studies in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I de’ Medici, Duke of Florence* (New York, 1978); Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, NJ, 1984); Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1992); and Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London, 1996). According to Fantoni, “The Courts of the Medici,” p. 256: “... the Medici court organised itself from the outset along what were once termed ‘absolutist’ lines...” References to absolutism also pervade Langdon, *Medici Women*.

in 1563 has been similarly presented as the culmination of a process designed to bring cultural life under his control.¹⁰ As an apparent focus of cultural discipline, this institution, whose members included artists such as Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino, Benvenuto Cellini, and Giambologna, has been the subject of a study using Foucauldian analysis.¹¹ Van Veen argues powerfully that this narrow ‘absolutist’ tradition is wholly inadequate.

Art historians have not been alone in their emphasis on absolutism. Indeed the concept of Cosimo’s cultural politics first appeared in studies of the Accademia fiorentina.¹² Founded in November 1540 as an independent and informal literary group, the Accademia degli Umidi (‘of the damp’) was transformed between 1541 and 1547 into the state-sponsored Accademia fiorentina with a membership that was dominated by Medici supporters. The part played by the Fiorentina in promoting the Florentine and Tuscan vernacular as the national *volgare* has been seen as a key aspect of Cosimo’s cultural policy.¹³ In addition, it is now argued that the historical works of academicians such as Benedetto Varchi, Pierfrancesco Giambullari, Vincenzo Borghini, and Girolamo Mei made ducal Florence a genuine centre for innovation and high achievement in historical studies.¹⁴ Until its final dissolution in 1783, the Fiorentina stood at the heart of Florentine intellectual life, overseeing scholarly and literary activities including printing.¹⁵

¹⁰ Janet Cox-Rearick, “Art at the Court of Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici (1537–1574),” in Cristina Acidini *et al.*, *The Medici, Michelangelo and the Art of Renaissance Florence* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 35–45 (p. 38).

¹¹ Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹² Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, “In nota alla politica culturale di Cosimo I: l’Accademia fiorentina,” *Quaderni Storici* 23 (1973): 527–574; Michel Plaisance, “Une première affirmation de la politique culturelle de Côme Ier: la transformation de l’Académie des ‘Humidi’ en Académie Florentine (1540–1542),” in Michel Plaisance, *L’Accademia e il suo principe. Cultura e politica a Firenze al tempo di Cosimo I e di Francesco de’ Medici* (Manziana, 2004), pp. 29–122.

¹³ Sergio Bertelli, “Egemonia linguistica come egemonia culturale e politica nella Firenze Cosimiana,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 (1976): 249–283; Giovanni Nencioni, “Il volgare nell’avvio del principato mediceo,” in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell’Europa del ’500*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1983), Vol. 2, pp. 683–705.

¹⁴ Ann E. Moyer, “Historians and Antiquarians in Sixteenth-Century Florence,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64/2 (2003): 177–193; Ann E. Moyer, “‘Without Passion or Partisanship’: Florentine Historical Writing in the Age of Cosimo I,” in *History and Nation*, ed. Julia Rudolph (Lewisburg, 2006), pp. 45–69.

¹⁵ For the Accademia fiorentina, see Plaisance, *L’Accademia e il suo principe* and Zanrè, *Cultural Non-Conformity*.

Michel Plaisance sees the history of the Accademia degli Umidi and its transformation into the Accademia fiorentina as the perfect illustration of Cosimo's innovative and coherent cultural policy. The Accademia fiorentina was, in Plaisance's view, a prototype of those state-regulated cultural institutions which were one of the faces of absolutism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁶

Although there has been widespread acceptance of the absolutist nature of Cosimo's cultural policy, current research indicates increasing dissent from that position. In the wake of recent studies which have discussed the Medicean state in terms of negotiated power, it has been suggested, convincingly, that cultural production should be studied from this perspective rather than from the viewpoint of absolutism.¹⁷ In addition, new interest in the plurality of cultural discourse and in the question of marginality has stimulated a new approach to the Accademia fiorentina. According to Domenico Zanrè, "...the construction of the city's official cultural centre relied on the actions of those on the margins, in order to establish the limits of acceptability."¹⁸ Doubts have also been raised as to the extent of Cosimo's personal involvement in culture. For example, a recent scholar, focusing on one of the most important commissions of Cosimo's reign, has argued that any differences between the decoration of the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio and that of similar halls in other states should be attributed not to Cosimo's influence but to Vincenzo Borghini, the programme's author, and Giorgio Vasari and the other Tuscan artists who painted it.¹⁹ This argument has itself been challenged, however.²⁰

¹⁶ Plaisance, "Une première affirmation," p. 29.

¹⁷ Hélène Chauvineau, Review of *L'Accademia e il suo principe. Cultura e politica a Firenze al tempo di Cosimo I e di Francesco de' Medici* by Michel Plaisance, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 53/3 (2006): 170–173 (p. 173). As an example of the new approach to the Medici state, Chauvineau cites Mannori, *Il sovrano tutore*. For the creation of the grand duchy, see Chapter One.

¹⁸ Zanrè, *Cultural Non-Conformity*, p. 2. The extent to which the individuals studied by Zanrè were marginalised has been questioned, see Ronald G. Witt, Review of *Cultural Non-Conformity in Early Modern Florence* by Domenico Zanrè, *Renaissance Studies* 19/3 (2005): 408–410. For marginality, see *Subversions and Scurrility: Popular Discourse in Europe from 1500 to the Present*, ed. Dermot Cavanagh and Tim Kirk (Aldershot, 2000); *Outsider Art: Contesting Boundaries in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Vera L. Zolberg and Joni Maya Cherbo (Cambridge, 1997); Jung Young Lee, *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology* (Minneapolis, 1995).

¹⁹ For this argument, see Charles Hope, "Wall Power," Review of *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* by Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *New York Review of Books* 40/6 (25 March 1993): 61–64.

²⁰ For a recent rebuttal, see Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 6.

Whilst it is clear that Cosimo did take a close personal interest in the project, the role he played casts an interesting light not only on his patronage of the visual arts but also on his support of historical research. For when Borghini found that one popular episode, the refoundation of Florence by Charlemagne, was in fact a myth, Cosimo insisted on historical accuracy and the Carolingian scene was replaced by the liberation of Florence from the siege of Radagastus. In his dealings with historians, it would appear that Cosimo altered some of his public programmes to bring them into line with the latest scholarship rather than advance a particular political agenda.²¹

Henk Van Veen has recently published a major challenge to traditional readings of Cosimo's cultural patronage, as well as providing the most detailed and systematic analysis we have of it. Given its significance, it may be useful here to examine Van Veen's main arguments, to review their strengths and weaknesses, and to consider possible areas for further investigation. As will become evident, Van Veen's interpretation of cultural patronage can be situated well in revisionist views of the general development of the grand duchy.

In some respects Van Veen agrees with the traditional consensus. He maintains that, with regard to iconography, Cosimo took the lead and was followed by Borghini and Vasari. The relationship is described in a letter which Cosimo Bartoli wrote to Vasari in 1569:

God has given us Duke Cosimo, for the preservation, increase and edification of Florence and He has given him you [i.e. Vasari and Borghini] who, as though you were his arms and hands, are capable of carrying out the honourable, extremely appropriate and very praiseworthy *concetti* of His Highness. Rejoice therefore in such a Patron. Do enthusiastically your best to honour His Highness and yourselves and to let what is said become reality, that namely Florence is not only the most beautiful city in Italy, but she will further outdo herself still every hour in beauty.²²

²¹ Moyer, "Without Passion", pp. 47, 59–60, 67. For the decoration of the Salone dei Cinquecento, see also Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 54–80, 200–206.

²² Bartoli to Vasari, Venice, 28 May 1569 in *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, ed. Karl Frey, 3 vols. (Munich, 1923–1940), Vol. 2, p. 427: "Dio ci ha dato il Duca Cosimo per conservatione et augmentatione et exaltatione di Fiorenza et li ha dato poi voi altri, che, come sue braccia et mani, possiate metter ad executione gli honoratissimi, comodissimi et lodevolissimi concetti di Sua Altezza. Godete felici dunque di un tanto Padron. Esercitatevi lietissimamente a honorar' et Sua Altezza et voi stessi et a far vera la voce che Fiorenza non solo sia la piu bella citta di Italia, ma che vadia ogni hora vincendo se stessa di bellezza." Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 191 n. 9.

Van Veen also agrees that Cosimo used his official commissions to specific propagandistic ends. However, he rejects the view that the art and architecture commissioned by Cosimo mirrored his steady increase in power, the traditional 'absolutist' interpretation. Instead he divides Cosimo's reign into three periods (1537–1559, 1559–1569, and 1569–1574), which each had different agendas. These agendas influenced not only the visual arts but also the cultural policy of the regime generally.²³

Van Veen's detailed and nuanced analysis reveals how both republican and imperial images were employed in a conscious and highly sophisticated manner. As yet it remains unclear to what extent these dual influences shaped cultural politics after Cosimo's death but it is possible that they survived into the seventeenth century. As we shall see, the mixture of the old and the new, the republican and the princely would also shape the grand dukes' approach to the *Studio pisano* and the *Studio senese*.

1537–1559

According to Van Veen, during the first twenty years of his rule Cosimo favoured imagery which was royal, dynastic, and territorial. This was despite the fact that he had been elected and that, despite his ducal title, there were limits to his power.²⁴ Van Veen examines the celebrations which marked Cosimo's wedding to Eleanor da Toledo in 1539, as well as at the architecture and decoration commissioned for the villa at Castello, the Palazzo Vecchio, the Piazza della Signoria (including the *Perseus with the Head of Medusa* by Benvenuto Cellini), the Mercato Nuovo, and the marble choir of Santa Maria del Fiore, and argues that Cosimo was using them to claim that his ancestry and personal qualities would empower him to turn Tuscany into a vigorous dynastic state.²⁵

Echoing the work of earlier scholars, Van Veen also notes that in the iconography of the *Quartiere degli Elementi* in the Palazzo Vecchio, Cosimo was identified with the Emperor Augustus via the symbol of Capricorn.²⁶ Like Augustus, Cosimo had come to power in January so

²³ Ibid., p. 5.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 8–31.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 22, 24. For Cosimo's identification with Augustus, see also Forster,

he adopted Augustus' Capricorn as his own symbol.²⁷ According to Vasari, Capricorn was the zodiacal sign which had "led Augustus to rule the world" and had similarly enabled Cosimo to increase his state until he was "all but king of Tuscany".²⁸ Cosimo also borrowed the motto of Augustus and Charles V, *Festina lente*.²⁹ Clear parallels were drawn between Augustus and Cosimo. Both had emerged as rulers following the assassination of the previous ruling figure, at exceptionally young ages, and through an electoral procedure. They had each pacified their respective states and undertaken the difficult task of consolidating the transition from a republic to a principate.³⁰

Surveying this first period (1537–1559), Van Veen also considers Cosimo's patronage of the Accademia fiorentina. As with his analysis of the visual arts, he stresses the apparent emphasis on Tuscany as a whole at this time. Like Plaisance, Van Veen argues that the Accademia became a tool of the new regime, partly to glorify Cosimo but also to form the professional class that would govern the territorial state. To help these professionals develop the duchy, academicians translated into the *volgare* practical Latin treatises in the fields of geometry, hydraulics, and architecture.³¹

Van Veen goes on to consider the role played by the *volgare* itself in the emergence of a unifying Tuscan identity.³² In 1550, for example, Cosimo requested five leading academicians to produce a grammar 'del parlar toschano et fiorentino', though when the committee was unable to decide what was Florentine and what was Tuscan, the project was shelved until 1572.³³ Despite this failure, it has been suggested that the

"Metaphors", pp. 85–90; Roger J. Crum, "Cosmos, the World of Cosimo: The Iconography of the Uffizi Facade," *The Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989): 237–253.

²⁷ See Forster, "Metaphors," p. 85; Claudia Rousseau, "Cosimo I de' Medici and Astrology: The Symbolism of Prophecy," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1983).

²⁸ Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence, 1878–1885), Vol. 8, p. 66: "*e così, come egli operò che Augusto fussi monarca di tutto il mondo, così giornalmente si vede operare in Sua Eccellenza, che lo ingrandisce e lo accresce, che poco gli manca a esser re di Toscana.*" Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 194 n. 68.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁰ Forster, "Metaphors," p. 85; Sang Woo Kim, "Historiography of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici's Cultural Politics and Theories of Cultural Hegemony and Opposition," *The Michigan Journal of History* (Winter 2006), http://www.umich.edu/~historyj/pages_folder/articles/Historiography_of_Duke_Cosimo_I_De_Medici's_Cultural_Politics.pdf (accessed 4 April 2007): 1–70 (p. 25).

³¹ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 27, 195 n. 97–98; Plaisance, "Une première affirmation," pp. 29, 101, 114.

³² Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 27, n. 99; Plaisance, "Une première affirmation," p. 101.

³³ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 27, n. 100; Michel Plaisance, "L'Académie Florentine de

project shows the academicians moving from “their original limited and somehow provincial programme focused on the city of Florence” to “a wider one, embracing the whole Tuscan linguistic heritage.”³⁴

The focus on the Tuscan language in the 1540s and 1550s was also linked to a renewed interest in the Etruscan roots of Tuscany. According to the Etruscan myth which had first appeared in the fifteenth century, Tuscany was the first area of Europe to be settled and civilised. In order to support the claim that the modern Tuscan language had its origins in Etruscan rather than Latin, etymologies were written in the 1540s by notable academicians such as Giovambattista Gelli and Pierfrancesco Giambullari.³⁵ As Sergio Bertelli has argued, this myth was the first step towards building a unified Tuscan state to replace the republican city-state of Florence. Instead of the Roman settlement lauded in the fifteenth century, Florence was now depicted merely as a minor settlement of Fiesole, one of the earliest cities of Etruria.³⁶ Stressing the links with ancient Etruria also had the further advantage of allowing Cosimo to dissociate Tuscany from Rome during a period of difficult relations between the duchy and the papacy.³⁷

These arguments offering a new focus on Tuscany between 1537 and 1559 are for the most part reasonable but Van Veen’s thesis claiming a preference for Tuscany over Florence is unconvincing when he discusses the historiography of art during this period. He notes that the 1530s and 1540s saw the writing of studies which celebrated the art of the city of Florence. In his *Vite de’ Primi Pittori di Firenze*, written between 1540 and 1549, Giovambattista Gelli argued that when Nature wished to revive art following its decline since Antiquity, she did it in Tuscany, “...where it appears that there are many lofty and subtle minds, and within Tuscany in the city of Florence, which is without doubt the heart of that region.”³⁸ Gelli’s assessment was repeated in the 1550

1541 à 1583: permanence et changement,” in Michel Plaisance, *L’Accademia e il suo principe. Cultura e politica a Firenze al tempo di Cosimo I e di Francesco de’ Medici* (Manziana, 2004), pp. 325–337 (p. 327).

³⁴ Paola Tinagli Baxter, “Vasari’s *Ragionamenti*, the Text as a Key to the Decorations of Palazzo Vecchio,” (Ph.D. diss., the University of Edinburgh, 1988), p. 9.

³⁵ Alessandro D’Alessandro, “Vincenzo Bordini e gli ‘Aramei’: mito e storia nel principato mediceo,” in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell’Europa del ‘500*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1983), Vol. 1, pp. 133–156 (p. 135), Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 28.

³⁶ Bertelli, “Egemonia,” p. 266; Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 28.

³⁷ Ibid. For relations between Florence and Rome, see Chapter One.

³⁸ Giovambattista Gelli, “Vite de’ Primi Pittori di Firenze, cioè di Cimabue etc.,” ed. Girolamo Mancini, *Archivio storico italiano* 17 (1896): 32–62 (p. 38): “...dove pare che

edition of Vasari's *Vite*. The dedication to Cosimo similarly maintains that those who revived art and brought it to perfection "...are almost all Tuscans, the most part *Your Florentines*."³⁹

1559–1569

The analysis of cultural production in Cosimo's 'middle period', between 1559 and 1569, is probably the most innovative part of Van Veen's study. He proposes that during these years Cosimo "charted a radically different course. He embraced the city's republican tradition, which prized the *bene comune* and *virtù civile*."⁴⁰ A change in the duke's behaviour was noted by Vincenzo Fedeli in the report which he wrote in late 1561 at the end of his two-year mission to Florence as the Venetian envoy. Fedeli observed that:

...just as [Cosimo] is great in building and ruling the state, he used to do everything in a big way. But for some time he has been reserved and withdrawn, and in private he lives, frankly not as a prince with that exquisite grandeur which is common to other princes and dukes, but as a great *pater familias*, and he always eats with his wife and children, at a table with modest provisions.

Fedeli also remarked that:

...the prince used to to provide a table for whoever wished to dine with him, now he has given this up entirely... He used to maintain a royal stable with all sorts of expensive horses, but now he keeps only what he needs; he used to spend very heavily on hunting, now he has become very moderate in this.⁴¹

sieno molti elevate e sottili ingegni, e di Toscana la città di Firenze, la quale indubitamente è il cuore di quella." Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 171, 231 n. 76.

³⁹ Vasari, *Le opere*, ed. Milanesi, Vol. 1, p. 1: "*sono quasi tutti toscani, la più parte Suoi fiorentini.*" Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 171. The italics are mine.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ed. Arnaldo Segarazzi, 3 vols. (Bari, 1912–1916), Vol. 1, pp. 351–352: "*così come è grande nel maneggio e nel governo dello stato, così già soleva usare tutte le grandezze in tutte le cose; ma da un tempo in qua è molto rimesso e ritirato e nelle cose di casa non vive in vero da principe con quella grandezza exquisita che sogliono usare gli altri principi e duchi, ma vive come un grandissimo padre di famiglia, e maneggia sempre unitamente con la moglie e con i suoi figlioli, con una tavola moderatamente ornata... Soleva già questo principe dare la spesa a fare una tavola per chi voleva andare; ora l'ha levata del tutto... soleva tenere una stalla regia di tutte le sorta di preziosi cavalli, ora tiene tanto che basta, soleva nelle cose della caccia fare grandissima spesa; ora se la passa con ogni mediocrità.*" Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 197 n. 22.

Although it is unclear from Fedeli's statement when the change in Cosimo's behaviour took place, Van Veen suggests that it occurred in 1559. This would link it to two key events which took place that year: Cosimo's receiving Siena as a fief from King Philip II of Spain and the election of Cosimo's protégé Giovanni Angelo Medici as Pope Pius IV. Although these events encouraged Cosimo in his pursuit of a royal title, he was strongly opposed by both Spain and the emperor. They could not accept that Florence was no longer subject to imperial authority, let alone that Siena had also been freed from it.⁴² According to Van Veen, these setbacks forced Cosimo to conceal his ambitions. Rather than present himself as a powerful, dynastic, triumphant, and imperialistic ruler, Cosimo needed to emphasise that all his regime sought was the well-being of its subjects. To allay fears that he would destabilise Italy, Cosimo strove not to appear as overly ambitious. Paradoxically the best way for him to increase his power was to abdicate, which is what he did in May 1564.⁴³ By abdicating, Cosimo was imitating the example of Augustus, who, having defeated his opponents, returned his extraordinary powers to the Senate and people of Rome, retaining only the consular authority which was his by right. As thanks the Senate presented him with the oak wreath and even greater powers.⁴⁴

Van Veen suggests that Cosimo's new policy shaped his visual representation between 1559 and 1569, when he was made grand duke of Tuscany. It can be seen in the *Quartiere di Cosimo* in the Palazzo Vecchio, whose decoration began in 1559, as well as in the portrait which Bronzino painted in 1560.⁴⁵ The iconography of Cosimo's wife was also changed. In the *Quartiere di Eleanora*, which was built between 1561 and 1562, the duchess was presented as "a force at the heart of the state—a powerful intercessor, concerned with the city's economic well-being."⁴⁶ However, the most striking visual example of

⁴² For the conquest of Siena and the quest for the title, see Introduction, nn. 4–5. For the relations with Spain and the emperor in this period, see Chapter One, nn. 41–48.

⁴³ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 38, 78.

⁴⁴ For Augustus' feigned resignation, see Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 34; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, LIII, 2–17. For Cosimo's imitation, see Malcolm Campbell, "Observations on the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Time of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, 1540–1574," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1983), Vol. 3, pp. 819–830.

⁴⁵ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 36, 197 n. 24.

⁴⁶ Pamela J. Benson, "Eleanora di Toledo among the Famous Women: Iconographic Innovation after the Conquest of Siena," in *The Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo*:

Cosimo's policy is found in the painting by Vasari of *Florence Crowns Cosimo I with Oakleaves*, in the central tondo of the ceiling of the Salone dei Cinquecento: "Surrounded by the symbols of the Republic, Cosimo is cast in the tondo as the champion of republican sovereignty, who perfected, as it were, the Florentine Republic."⁴⁷ The tondo was painted in 1565 and Van Veen argues that it must be related to his pursuit of a new and more elevated title. In July 1564 the Emperor Ferdinand I had been succeeded by Maximilian II. As the new emperor was the brother-in-law of Prince Francesco, Cosimo requested the title of archduke.⁴⁸

Turning to the Accademia fiorentina, Van Veen argues that between 1559 and 1569 it focused on the language and history of Florence, rejecting the emphasis on Tuscany which had characterised the earlier period. With regard to language, the key figures in this period were Vincenzo Borghini, Benedetto Varchi, and Lionardo Salviati. In the 1560s and 1570s Borghini composed studies on the Florentine language in which he argued that 'Florentine' meant only 'Florentine', not 'Tuscan'. For him, Florence was the true home of the language, just as Rome had been the home of Latin.⁴⁹ In the dedication of *L'Hercolano* to Prince Francesco de' Medici, Varchi wrote that he sought:

...to demonstrate that the language written by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and nowadays by many noble minds throughout Italy and other foreign countries, should not be called courtly, or Italian, or Tuscan, but Florentine, and that, if not richer and more famous, it is more beautiful, sweeter and more honest than Greek and Latin.⁵⁰

Since this work was judged in the interest of the *patria*, in 1561 Cosimo allowed Varchi to work on it rather than on his official history of Florence. Another scholar, Lionardo Salviati, delivered the *Orazione in*

Duchess of Florence and Siena, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 136–156 (p. 148).

⁴⁷ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 66.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴⁹ Vincenzo Borghini, *Storia della Nobiltà Fiorentina. Discorsi inediti o rari*, ed. J. R. Woodhouse (Pisa, 1974), p. XXVIII; Robert Williams, "Vincenzo Borghini and Vasari's Lives" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1988), p. 269; Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 167.

⁵⁰ Benedetto Varchi, *Opere*, with texts by A. Racheli and Gio. Battista Busini, 2 vols. (Trieste, 1858–1859), Vol. 1, p. 10: "...il dimostrare che la lingua colla quale scrissero già Dante, il Petrarca e il Boccaccio, e oggi scrivono molti nobili spiriti di tutta Italia e d'altre Nazioni forestieri, come non è, così non si debba propriamente chiamare né cortigiana, né Italiana, né Toscana, ma Fiorentina; e che ella è, se non più ricca, e più famosa, più bella, più dolce e più onesta che la Greca, e la Latina non sono..."

lode della fiorentina favella at the Accademia fiorentina in 1564, arguing that Italian and Tuscan were synonymous with Florentine and that all philosophical, medical, legal, and theological works should be translated from Greek and Latin into Florentine. His patriotic approach dramatically revived the Fiorentina in the mid-1560s. No fewer than forty-eight new members were admitted in the years 1565–1566, and the Fiorentina received a further boost in 1566 when Salviati was himself elected to the consulate.⁵¹ The importance which Cosimo attached to the propagation of the Florentine language in these years, and the major role in this which he assigned to the Accademia fiorentina, are shown by a comment made by the consul of the Accademia, Giovan Battista Strozzi, in 1562:

It was the intention of the great founder of this Academy [i.e. Cosimo] not only that our language should be made to flower in his city, but also that with all our forces it would be disseminated and spread to all of the most distant regions.⁵²

As with linguistics, Van Veen argues for a major shift in Florentine historiography in the 1560s. Historians showered praise on the city and its elite as the champions of Florence's honour and traditions. In 1559–1560 Borghini was appointed to supervise the first complete edition of the chronicles of Giovanni, Matteo, and Filippo Villani. He was also engaged to write a three-volume study on Florence. The first volume would examine the origins and early history of the city; the second would introduce the leading families of Florence; and the third volume would discuss her "excellent men in every field, both civil and philosophical, age by age." This last volume would also deal with the language, or rather the 'modo di parlare' which had evolved in Florence. This focus on the history of Florence itself differed from the emphasis on Tuscany and its Etruscan past which had been given in the 1540s and 1550s by writers such as Gelli and Giambullari. Borghini's research on the most distinguished Florentine families mirrors Cosimo's new conviction that his regime, including his own position, should be seen in terms of the city and its traditions. From the early 1560s onward the duke sought actively to reconcile the city's elite to his regime; he

⁵¹ Van Veen, p. 169.

⁵² Quoted by Plaisance, "L'Académie Florentine," pp. 333–334: "*Fu intendimento del gran fondatore di questa academia che non sol la lingua nostra si facesse fiorire nella sua città, ma perchè a tutto nostro potere ella si seminasse e spargesse in ogni più lontana contrada.*"

recalled many patricians whom he had earlier exiled, and returned their property. It is within this context that we should perhaps see Borghini's work. Even historical works which had been started much earlier in Cosimo's reign, but were completed in the 1560s, seem to have been influenced by the new stress on the city and its characteristic qualities. Between 1560 and his death in 1565 Varchi added numerous digressions to his *Storia fiorentina* which are at odds with the straightforward political history which he had written up until then. The most striking of these digressions is a seventy-page panegyric description of Florence. The new patriotism of Cosimo's regime had an even greater impact on the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*. Although this edition also devoted more attention to other Italian cities and regions than the 1550 edition, its account of Florence was far more detailed.⁵³

Van Veen depicts the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno in 1563 as part of the new cultural policy emphasising Florence. The idea that art had been reborn in Florence, that it had grown there, and that it had now reached its zenith under Cosimo was, he argues, vital to the establishment of the Accademia. It was presented as an extension of the Florentine painters' confraternity, the Compagnia di San Luca. The first of the new statutes of the Accademia et Compagnia del Disegno (drafted in January 1563) deliberately distorted the historical record by stating that the Compagnia already existed in the days of Giotto, Arnolfo di Cambio, and Andrea Pisano.⁵⁴

Van Veen's emphasis on a cultural policy now focused on Florence rather than on Tuscany, with a Cosimo ruling modestly in the interests of his subjects, is not always convincing. In his account of the Accademia del Disegno he insists that the Florentinist ideology demanded that Cosimo could not behave towards it as an absolute, territorial ruler. Instead stress was placed on his personal willingness to participate in the Accademia and Compagnia. According to Van Veen, the fact that he let himself be represented by a lieutenant, who acted as his mouthpiece, indicates that he regarded himself as head and thus, automatically, as personally participating in the institution. This is confirmed by the terminology used to describe him in the statutes. He is the "father, head, guide, and corrector". Vasari suggested as much when he remarked that Cosimo "...always showed himself to us [i.e. the artists] not as

⁵³ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 151–155; 225 n. 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

a Signore but as a Protector and Father of us all, helping those who cannot survive without the help of others.”⁵⁵ But the hypothesis that Cosimo did not present himself as a ruler who imposed his personal rule from above is undermined by the fact that he had a statue of himself placed in the Cappella di San Luca.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the assertion that, in contrast to his relationship with the Accademia del Disegno, Cosimo had always remained above the Accademia fiorentina, and that this is significant in itself, is inaccurate.⁵⁷ As Domenico Zanrè has pointed out with regard to the Fiorentina: “...one should never forget the presence of the duke, who would have attended some, if not all, of these meetings.”⁵⁸

1569–74

Van Veen characterises Cosimo’s cultural politics in the final period, between his elevation to a grand duke in 1569 and his death in 1574, as a mixture of the Tuscan imperialism of the first period and the Florentine republicanism of the second. The new imperial image of Cosimo was superimposed on the existing notion of honour and service to the Florentine homeland, which the regime maintained to the end. The one image was linked to the other. The idea of princely authority as a continuation of the authority of the free Florentine Republic had become indispensable. Cosimo needed it to gain imperial approval for his new title and thereby recognition of his diplomatic precedence over other Italian rulers. He also needed it to ensure the acceptance and consolidation of his dynasty.⁵⁹ Once more, Augustus provides a key. In 1572 Mario Matasilani published a treatise entitled *La felicità del Ser. Cosimo de’ Medici Granduca di Toscana*, which compares Cosimo and Augustus systematically. The treatise tried to show how Cosimo’s

⁵⁵ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 175. See also Vasari to Michelangelo, 17 Mar. 1563 in *Der literarische Nachlass*, ed. Frey, Vol. 2, pp. 736–737: “...essendoci d’ogni tempo mostro, non come Signore, ma Protettore et Padre di tutti noi, aiutando coloro che non si possono sollevare senza l’aiuto d’altri.”

⁵⁶ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 233 n. 101.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁵⁸ Zanrè, *Cultural Non-Conformity*, p. 39.

⁵⁹ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 139–140. For the issue of precedence, see Chapter One, n. 20.

destiny was determined by the stars and he is presented as a demi-god, but a demi-god bound by civic standards.⁶⁰

With regard to the visual arts, Van Veen believes that the mixture of the imperial and the republican can be seen most noticeably in the regalia which were designed for Cosimo in 1569. The grand ducal crown and sceptre were obviously royal, but, by highlighting the giglio and alluding to images of the guilds and the Signoria, their symbolism referred to Florence and the Republic.⁶¹ However, the most significant evidence of the more royal image which Cosimo adopted after his elevation is the sudden change of the plan for his statue on the facade of the Uffizi. The original idea of a seated figure was replaced by another concept: not an accurate likeness of Cosimo as grand duke, but a generalised symbol of his status. Hence the figure was given an erect, imperial pose, it wears an heroic, classicising costume, and it holds the *fascies*. That the figure represented Augustus/Cosimo is clear from the large shield, which is decorated with Capricorn and the stars of Ariadne. The republicanism of the central tondo of the Sala Grande has been exchanged for an image of imperial rulership.⁶² Like Augustus, Cosimo disliked sculptures of himself in public settings. Van Veen suggests that he relented when it was decided that his likeness would not appear alone, but as part of a group designed to place Cosimo and his regime directly in the cultural and political traditions of the city. Statues of Florentines famous for their devotion to the Republic would be placed in all twenty-six niches along the porticoes on either side of the courtyard. The exterior decoration of the Uffizi would, therefore, have praised the dynasty as the servant of the Florentine republic, and it would have made the point that the civic virtues of these illustrious citizens had been crowned by Cosimo's regime, as represented by his statue on the *testata*.⁶³

Both the Florentine and the Tuscan *volgare* were promoted during Cosimo's final years. When Cosimo went to Rome for his coronation in 1570, the ecclesiastical authorities gave him the officially sanctioned guidelines for expurgating the *Decameron*. Upon his return to Florence, he and Francesco appointed members of the Accademia

⁶⁰ Mario Matasilani, *La felicità del Ser. Cosimo de' Medici Granduca di Toscana* (Florence, 1572); Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 139 (where he is mistakenly called Carlo).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140–141, 222 n. 45.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.

fiorentina to produce a revised edition, which was duly published in 1574.⁶⁴ Machiavelli was also considered an important model for pure Florentine, even though he had been placed on the Index in 1559 and again in 1564. Cosimo approved plans for a Florentine edition of the complete works in 1572, and two of the author's grandsons, Niccolò di Bernardo and Giuliano de' Ricci, took on the project, though it was never realised.⁶⁵ Returning to an earlier plan, in 1572 Cosimo also commissioned a new grammar of the *lingua toscana* from five members of the Accademia fiorentina. The need for the grammar was said to be urgent "...because the purity of the Florentine language is clearly corrupt and getting more corrupt every day, which only damages the city's honour."⁶⁶

Imperial and republican elements in the cultural politics of Cosimo can also be found in combinations after his death. Van Veen produces some of his most stimulating insights with regard to Cosimo's funeral and his eulogists and biographers. Hitherto Cosimo's obsequies have been viewed in terms of ancient Roman and modern imperial models.⁶⁷ Van Veen accepts that imperial Roman elements were introduced in Cosimo's funeral rites, but argues that the obsequies were not entirely modelled on the Roman example. Challenging earlier scholars, he maintains that Cosimo's obsequies, unlike the ancient imperial funeral ritual, were not based on the idea of *consecratio* and apotheosis.⁶⁸ The choice of a *chapelle ardente* meant that in the place which formed the culmination of Cosimo's funeral rites, the glorification of his princely virtues and deeds was abandoned and the idea of *consecratio* and apotheosis was here consciously suppressed. As he prepared for the funeral, Borghini had found that at the public funeral of Vieri di Cambio de' Medici in 1393 there was a "capanna tutta piena di torchetti." The decision to revive this custom paid tribute both to medieval Florence and to the patriotic and populist side of the Medici ancestry. In this

⁶⁴ S. Carrai and S. Madricardo, "Il 'Decameron' censurato. Preliminari alla 'riassetatura' del 1573," *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 7 (1989): 225–247; Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 169–170.

⁶⁵ Peter Godman, *From Poliziano to Machiavelli* (Princeton, NJ, 1998), pp. 276–277; Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 170.

⁶⁶ Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato*, Vol. 3, p. 138: "...perciocchè pare che la purità del parlare fiorentino sia oggi assai corrotta e che si vada giornalmente corrompendo, il che non pare sia con onore della città." Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 231, n. 71.

⁶⁷ See Borsook, "Art and Politics at the Medici Court, I," 31–54; Fenlon, "Rites of Passage," 162–179.

⁶⁸ Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 141.

context it is also significant that the *chapelle ardente* was situated directly above the grave of Cosimo il Vecchio and that its frieze on the side facing Francesco was inscribed with the words PATER PATRIAE, in addition to OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Van Veen argues that under the classical imperial facade, the outlines of the state funerals long practised in Florence were clearly visible. Cosimo's obsequies began in the Palazzo della Signoria. His lying in state is reminiscent of the lying in state of the Florentine chancellors in the fifteenth century. For instance, Leonardo Bruni lay on an elevated bier on Piazza della Signoria, his body dressed in the chancellor's robes of red silk. Likewise the funeral oration for Cosimo which Giovan Battista Adriani delivered from the *ringhiera* recalled the humanistic eulogies of the fifteenth-century chancellors which were delivered on the piazza. In addition, the nature and arrangement of the procession echoed the funeral processions of prominent citizens in fifteenth-century Florence. Apart from the use of the effigy—the quintessential icon of monarchy—Cosimo's was essentially a traditional patrician funeral but on a much larger scale.⁶⁹

As Van Veen demonstrates, the idea of upholding Florentine tradition beneath a layer of imperial grandeur was most strikingly expressed in Cosimo's costume while he lay in state in the Palazzo Pitti. Underneath the grand ducal robes worn on the third day, the body was dressed in a jacket and a pair of closed stockings, all made of red silk.⁷⁰ Thus, under his royal garments Cosimo lay in state as a traditional Florentine citizen. It was in this costume that his body was dressed as soon as it was embalmed, and it was in this same outfit that he was finally laid to rest along with the mantle of Grand Master of the Order of Santo Stefano, as stipulated by the Order's statutes.⁷¹

Van Veen also shows how Cosimo's funerary orators and his early biographers portrayed him as a republican prince. The central theme of these writings is not the territorial state of Tuscany and the grand duchy which Cosimo had founded, but the city of Florence. It is remarkable to see how the authors glorify the Florentine Republic as though it still

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 144–145.

⁷⁰ *Descrizione della Pompa Funerale fatta nelle Esequie del Sermo Sig. Cosimo de' Medici, Gran Duca di Toscana, nell'alma città di Fiorenza, il giorno XVI. Di maggio dell'anno MDLXXIII* (Florence, 1574), p. 4.

⁷¹ See Susanna Pietrosanti, *Sacralità medicee* (Florence, 1991), pp. 96–99; *Moda alla corte dei Medici: gli abiti restaurati di Cosimo, Eleonora e don Garzia*, ed. Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti (Florence, 1993), pp. 97–103; Cristina Domenico and Donatella Lippi, *I Medici. Una dinastia ai raggi X* (Siena, 2005); Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 146, 223–224 n. 72.

existed, and the extent to which they identify the regime with it. The strength and dignity of the city reflected on the regime, whose prestige in turn derived from its subservience to the *patria*.⁷²

Figures such as Piero Vettori, Baccio Baldini, Giovan Battista Adriani, and Bernardo Puccini reminded their audience that to the very end Cosimo had seen himself as a legitimate ‘head of the Florentine Republic,’ popularly elected, who had sworn on the old laws and the old liberty, and out of patriotism had always guaranteed that the Republic would continue in its old form.⁷³ Adriani even contends that in 1537, when Cosimo first came to power, he had shown his citizens that “...there was no question of any change in the city, except as regards the person of the prince.”⁷⁴ It was Cosimo who had ensured the survival of the Republic and had protected it from those who longed for change.⁷⁵ He had modelled himself on the Medici ancestors, “who had devoted themselves exclusively to increasing public welfare and public honour and to maintaining equality, modesty and other good civic virtues.”⁷⁶

AFTER COSIMO

Revealing the survival and influence of republican values throughout Cosimo’s reign and after his death is Van Veen’s key contribution to our understanding of grand ducal cultural politics. He does not make sufficiently clear, however, how long these values continued. He quotes the *Ricordi* of Cosimo, dictated by Domenico Mellini:

He put much more stock—and he said this publicly—in having been elected *Principe* and *Padrone* of his homeland by his people than if he had acquired some great Kingdom, and speaking of that he used words full of modesty, and of gratitude toward the nobility in particular, and all Florentines.⁷⁷

⁷² Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 185, 187.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Giovambattista Adriani, *Oratio habita in funere Cosmi Medicis, con la traduzione di Marcello Adriani stampata contemporaneamente* (Florence, 1574), c. 5r: “...nella città non habea mutatione alcuna se non in quanto alla persona del principe”. Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 236 n. 24.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 187.

⁷⁶ Davanzati, *Orazione*, p. 127: “...che studiaron solo in accrescer il pubblico bene, ed onore, e mantener l’egualità, e modestia, e l’altre buon’arti civili.”

⁷⁷ Mellini, *Ricordi*, p. 72: “Stimò, e lo diceva publicamente, di gran lunga vie più l’essere stato

Van Veen also records Mellini's story of how Cosimo, referring to Cosimo il Vecchio's portrait, had once said to him,

Cosimo [il Vecchio] has always given me food for thought and shall continue to do so,' by which he meant that 'that wise and great man had done more as a citizen than he, Cosimo, had done as Prince.⁷⁸

But Van Veen does not tell us that Mellini dictated his *Ricordi* at the request of Christine of Lorraine following the death of Ferdinando in 1609. It has recently been proposed that Christine sought to influence her son Cosimo II and that the commissioning of the *Ricordi* may have been part of her strategy.⁷⁹ The idea of Cosimo II reading Cosimo I's thoughts on Cosimo il Vecchio is intriguing. It suggests that republican models were still influencing the rulers of Florence even in the seventeenth century.

It would be interesting to know whether republican elements also influenced the cultural politics of Francesco and Ferdinando. But with most scholarly attention fixed firmly on their father, the political dimensions of their patronage remain as yet largely unexplored. In contrast to Cosimo's commissioning of highly visible projects, the main foci of Francesco's cultural interests were both private: the Studiolo in the Palazzo Vecchio and the villa (now lost) and park at Pratolino. Both testified to Francesco's fascination with the relationship between art and nature.⁸⁰

eletto da'suoi cittadini Principe, e Padrone della sua patria, che s'egli avesse acquistato qual sivoglia regno, e di ciò ragionando usava parole piene di modestia, e di gratitudine verso la Nobiltà particolarmente, e Fiorentine tutti." Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 236 n. 26.

⁷⁸ Mellini, *Ricordi*, p. 72: "*Cosimo m'ha dato sempre, e darò che pensare.*"; "...*quel savio, e grand'uomo a proporzione aveva fatto più, come cittadino, che egli avesse fatto come Principe.*" Quoted by Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, p. 236 n. 31.

⁷⁹ Kelley Ann Harness, *Echoes Of Women's Voices: Music, Art and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago, 2006), pp. 16–17.

⁸⁰ For Francesco's patronage in general, see Luciano Berti, *Il Principe dello Studiolo: Francesco I de' Medici e la fine del rinascimento fiorentino* (Florence, 1967; rept. Pistoia, 2002). For the Studiolo, see now Larry J. Feinberg, "The Studiolo of Francesco I Reconsidered," in Cristina Acidini, et al., *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 47–65. For Francesco and Pratolino, see Carlo Del Bravo, "Francesco a Pratolino," *Artibus et Historiae*, 8/15 (1987), 37–46; Hervé Brunon, "Les prodiges du prince: Pratolino, refuge féerique," in *Le Jardin, notre double. Sagesse et dérision*, ed. Hervé Brunon (Paris, 1999), pp. 124–140; Hervé Brunon, "La forêt, la montagne et la grotte: Pratolino et la poétique pastorale du paysage à la fin du XVI^e siècle," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 112/2 (2000): 785–811; Hervé Brunon, "Pratolino: art des jardins et imaginaire de la nature dans l'Italie de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle" 5 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris-I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2001); Hervé Brunon, "Les mouvements des eaux de l'Univers":

Ferdinando's approach was very different, and the contrast is well illustrated by an anecdote of Scipione Ammirato:

Giambologna used to complain that, although God had created him to make colossal sculptures and great contrivances, Grand Duke Francesco, because of the needs which arose, continuously used him to make small birds, little fish, lizards, and other tiny animals, but that Grand Duke Ferdinando had freed him from that tedium, and kept him busy making the most noble equestrian statue of the most noble prince, Grand Duke Cosimo, his father.⁸¹

Unlike his father and brother, Ferdinando was willing to commission many public dynastic effigies. Ferdinando himself was often the subject of these sculptures but so too was Cosimo, most notably in the equestrian monument by Giambologna which stands in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence. This was the first equestrian monument to be completed in Italy for over a century and it had clear imperial overtones.⁸²

Following his accession, Ferdinando spent so lavishly that, according to one ambassador, Florence seemed to have the court of a king.⁸³ His marriage to Christine of Lorraine in 1589 was accompanied by perhaps the most splendid of all Medicean festivities, costing an estimated 200,000 scudi. There were further elaborate and costly celebrations to

Pratolino, jardin météorologique," in *Les Éléments et les métamorphoses de la nature. Imaginaire et symbolique des arts dans la culture européenne du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Hervé Brunon, Monique Mosser and Daniel Rabreau (Bordeaux and Paris, 2004), pp. 33–53; Hervé Brunon, *Pratolino ou le pouvoir de la nature: essai sur l'imaginaire culturel des jardins dans l'Italie de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle* (Rome, forthcoming).

⁸¹ Quoted by Suzanne Butters, "Ferdinando de' Medici and the art of the possible", in Cristina Acidini, et al., *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 66–75 (p. 72).

⁸² There are statues of Ferdinando in Pisa, Arezzo, and Livorno, as well as his equestrian monument in Piazza Santissima Annunziata in Florence, see *ibid.* and John Pope-Hennessy, "Giovanni Bologna and the Marble Statues of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I," *The Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970): 304–307. I have been unable to consult Guido Quodbach, "Ferdinando I de' Medici: aspecten van beeld en zelfbeeld. Doelstellingen en methoden van propaganda gedurende de regeerperiode van groothertog Ferdinando I van Toscane (1587–1609), afgezet tegen de meningen van tijdgenoten," *Utrechtse Historische Cahiers* 14 (1993): 1–109. For the equestrian monument of Cosimo, see Mary Weitzel Gibbons, "Cosimo's Cavallo: A Study in Imperial Imagery," in *The Cultural Politics*, ed. Eisenbichler, pp. 77–95 and Victoria Avery, "Virtue, Valour, Victory: The Making and Meaning of Bronze Equestrian Monuments (ca. 1440–ca. 1640)," in *Praemium Virtutis III: Reiterstandbilder von der Antike bis zum Klassizismus*, ed. Joachim Poeschke, Thomas Weigel and Britta Kusch-Arnhold (Münster, forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr Avery for allowing me to read this essay in typescript.

⁸³ Butters, "Ferdinando de' Medici," p. 73.

mark the marriage of his niece Maria to King Henry IV of France in 1600 and the marriage of his son Cosimo to Maria Maddalena of Austria in 1608.⁸⁴ Again, there seems little here to indicate civic or republican values. But the 1590s brought floods, famine, and unemployment to Tuscany.⁸⁵ Although the grand ducal coffers were well-filled and state revenue was healthy, Ferdinando decided to concentrate his expenditure on public works such as land irrigation and reclamation, the building of Livorno, and the construction of the Forte Belvedere and the Chapel of the Princes in Florence.⁸⁶ In a discussion of his patronage, Suzanne Butters has suggested that Ferdinando practised the art of the possible, but in these public works might we not also see traces of the republican prince working for the benefit of his subjects?

CONCLUSION

Van Veen has made a significant contribution to our understanding of Cosimo's cultural politics, particularly in his emphasis on the use of traditional republican forms. Yet his analysis is not without its flaws. The problems with his discussion of the historiography of art, the Accademia del Disegno, and the Accademia fiorentina have already been mentioned. In addition, given his awareness of the Tuscan dimension to Cosimo's cultural patronage, it is ironic that Van Veen focuses on Florence to the exclusion of patronage in other parts of the duchy. But, if we are to understand the cultural politics of the grand dukes fully, we must also look at how they acted in other Tuscan cities.⁸⁷ Key roles were played by the Studio pisano and the Studio senese, and it is to them that we shall now turn.

⁸⁴ Ibid. See also n. 6 above.

⁸⁵ Licata and Vanzulli, "Grano, carestie, banditismo," pp. 331–460.

⁸⁶ Butters, "Ferdinando," p. 72.

⁸⁷ The basis for such an investigation is there. For Arezzo, see Andrea Andanti, *Il Seicento ed il Settecento ad Arezzo: architettura, scultura, pittura* (Arezzo, 1990) and *Arte in terra d'Arezzo. Il Seicento*, ed. Liletta Fornasari and Alessandra Giannotti (Florence, 2003). For Livorno and Pisa, see *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici*; Eva Karwacka Codini, *Piazza dei Cavalieri: urbanistica e architettura dal Medioevo al Novecento* (Florence, 1989); and Ciuti, *Pisa Medicea*. For Siena, see Fiorella Sricchia Santoro, *et al., L'Arte a Siena sotto i Medici 1555–1609* (Rome, 1980).

PART TWO

STRUCTURES

CHAPTER THREE

THE STRUCTURES OF ACADEMIC POWER

The histories of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese in the late sixteenth century have been characterised as the clash between the government, in the person of the grand duke, which strove to harmonise every particularism into the centralised concept of the absolute state, and a peripheral institution which defended until death the relics of its freedoms and its privileges.¹ Apart from linking the Studio pisano and the Studio senese to absolutism, this argument supports the widespread belief in the longterm decline of student power in the Italian states. According to Peter Denley,

Most of these student-universities were skeletons, erected or preserved in order to give the *studium* a veneer of constitutional respectability... The rectorate, just about the only element of the student-university constitution to be widely preserved, was increasingly difficult to fill in the fifteenth century, while the practice of matriculation into the student universities is so difficult to trace that there must be considerable doubt as to whether it was in fact continued on a significant scale.²

At Bologna only one rector was elected in both arts and law in the mid-1550s. There were no rectors in the 1560s and 1570s and the office disappeared completely after 1580. A similar state of affairs occurred at Perugia.³

¹ Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, p. 6. For absolutism and the Studio pisano, see *ibid.*, pp. 55, 122, 130, 138, 140, 141–142, 143, 157; Danilo Marrara, *L'Università di Pisa come università statale nel granducato mediceo* (Milan, 1965), *passim*; and Danilo Marrara, “L'età medicea (1543–1737),” p. 89. For absolutism and the Studio senese, see Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 16, 18, 22, 36–37, 40, 65, 66, 67–68, 88, 90, 93, 108; Maria Claudia Fascione Toniolo, “Aspetti di politica culturale e scolastica nell'età di Cosimo I: l'istituzione del Collegio della Sapienza di Pisa,” *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 49 (1980): 61–86.

² Peter Denley, “Career, Springboard, or Sinecure? University Teaching in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” *Medieval Prosopography* 12 (1991): 95–114 (p. 98). Paul Grendler argues, “The student *universitas*, that is, the students organised in order to hire professors and to lead the community of students and masters, were only shadows of their medieval selves in the Renaissance.” See Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 158.

³ Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 158.

Yet was the situation in the Tuscan universities so straightforward? In fact, a systematic analysis of the three main structures of academic power (the administrators and the grand dukes, the students, and the professors) reveals a very different picture. The institutional development of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese was complicated. As with the general growth of the grand duchy, innovation mixed with tradition and local privileges were not only upheld but extended significantly in the case of the student-universities. Power was spread throughout the different structures. In addition, the first full study of the financial records of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese challenges the traditional view that Cosimo and Ferdinando favoured Pisa whilst Francesco preferred Siena. Contrary to the existing scholarship, these sources show that, of the three grand dukes, Ferdinando was the most important benefactor of the Studio senese.⁴

THE ADMINISTRATORS AND THE GRAND DUKES

In discussing the Studio pisano and the Studio senese, it is important to appreciate that they had very different administrations. This is an obvious point yet it is usually overlooked.⁵ The government of the Studio pisano was in the hands of the provveditore and the auditore whilst that of the Studio senese was controlled by the deputati di balia and the governor of Siena. The only common factor in the management of both universities was the grand duke. That there were variations in the administrations should not surprise us given that each studio was in a different state with the Studio pisano belonging to the stato vecchio and the Studio senese to the stato nuovo. But who were these officials, what parts did they play in the lives of the universities, and what were the roles of the grand dukes?

The administration of the Studio pisano was a mixture of the old and the new. The post of provveditore dello studio had existed in the

⁴ For the traditional view, see Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, *passim*. It is also supported by Paul Grendler, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 52, 55.

⁵ Grendler notes that the administration of the Studio pisano was unique among Italian universities as there was no magistracy which intervened between it and the ultimate civil authority, see Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 158. However, he does not highlight in particular the contrast between the administrations of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese.

republican period.⁶ It was revived immediately following the reopening of the Studio in 1543 when Filippo del Migliore, in the absence of the rector, convened the election of the student councillors, the consiglieri.⁷ The provveditore was appointed by the grand duke and he served for an indeterminate period.⁸ Between 1543 and 1609 only six men acted as provveditori.⁹ From 1575 until 1808 the provveditore was an ecclesiastic who was also the prior of the conventual church of the Order of Santo Stefano, thus uniting the two institutions in Pisa which were of greatest importance to the grand dukes.¹⁰ Filippo and Antonio del Migliore only visited Pisa twice a year, staying as guests at the monastery of San Michele in Borgo. It was not until the appointment in 1575 of the third man to hold the office, Giovanni Toso, that the provveditore based himself in the city.¹¹

The functions of the provveditore were limited. His authority was undermined by its not being established in law until 1624, a weakness which led to disagreements with the students and the professors.¹² Although he supervised the payment of salaries to the professors from 1545 onwards, the provveditore only extended his control over teaching

⁶ In the early 1520s Francesco del Nero served as provveditore, using the post to give money and work to his brothers-in-law Niccolò and Totto Machiavelli, see Armando F. Verde, O.P., "Il secondo periodo dello Studio fiorentino 1504–1528," in *L'Università e la sua storia*, ed. Paolo Renzi (Arezzo, 1998), pp. 105–131 (p. 112). Grendler argues incorrectly that the post of provveditore was created after 1543, see Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 158.

⁷ Marrara, "L'età medicea," p. 80, nn. 10, 14–17.

⁸ Marrara, "L'età medicea," p. 91.

⁹ They were Filippo del Migliore (1543–1564), Antonio del Migliore (1565–1573), Giovanni Toso (1575–1587), Cappone Capponi (1587–1603), Lodovico Covo (1603–1607), and Arturo Pannocchieschi d'Elci (1608–1614).

¹⁰ Marrara, "I rapporti istituzionali," pp. 33–41; *I Priori della Chiesa conventuale*, ed. Marrara, *passim*.

¹¹ [Migliorotto Maccioni], "Osservazioni sopra la giurisdizione e diritti spettanti all'Accademia Pisana scritte di commissione della Regia Deputazione sopra gli affari della medesima," p. 446. This seventeenth-century manuscript is now in the library of the Dipartimento di Diritto Privato of the University of Pisa. For the attribution of authorship to Maccioni, see Danilo Barsanti, "Un importante manoscritto settecentesco per la storia dell'Università di Pisa: le 'Osservazioni' di Migliorotto Maccioni," in *Ricerche di storia moderna IV in onore di Mario Mirri*, ed. Giuliana Biagioli (Pisa, 1995), pp. 271–300.

¹² Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 75 implies that the provveditore had wideranging powers in the sixteenth century. In fact, he did not receive them until the seventeenth century, see Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 195–196 and Marrara, "L'età medicea," p. 93. For tensions between the provveditore, the students, and the professors, see Chapter Four and Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, p. 196.

at the Studio gradually.¹³ In 1563 Filippo del Migliore asked the rector to ensure that disputations were held according to the statutes.¹⁴ It was only following a riot in the residential college of the Sapienza in 1576 that the grand duke ordered that the calendar of vacations be published by the provveditore. However, he still had to act jointly with the rector.¹⁵ In 1592 the provveditore complained of professors failing to teach the full lesson and avoiding teaching on the eve of feast days. Yet the threat of withholding salaries came not from him but from the grand duke.¹⁶ Likewise the provveditore's interventions in the administration of the student-university were limited, slow to develop, and only made with the backing of his superiors. In 1567 and 1573 his requests that the rector ensure the careful maintenance of matriculation records were issued at the command of the auditore.¹⁷ It was not until 1576 that the auditore ordered that matriculations were to be supervised jointly by the rector, the provveditore, and the commissario of Pisa.¹⁸ Outbreaks of student violence were reported to the provveditore though not as regularly as to the auditore and the grand duke, and there are only two known occasions when the provveditore was asked to enforce order.¹⁹ His advice was sought rarely either by the students or the professors. In 1591 the rector consulted the provveditore regarding the precedence of the current and previous rector.²⁰ In 1574 the college of arts asked him whether their members should have to matriculate in the *Arte degli Speciali* in Florence. The provveditore immediately contacted the auditore and then suggested that the college write to the grand duke.²¹

The auditore dello studio was a far more substantial figure than the provveditore. He replaced the elected *ufficiali dello studio* of the repub-

¹³ ASE, MdP 1171, fol. 266r (MAProj 2434), 19 Apr. 1545.

¹⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 25v–26r, 30 Oct. 1563.

¹⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 48v and ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 2, fols. 309r–309v, 29 Feb. 1576.

¹⁶ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 89v, 20 Aug. 1592.

¹⁷ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 38r–38v, 18 Oct. 1567, and ASE, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 31v, 15 Aug. 1573.

¹⁸ ASE, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 52r–52v; and ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 17, fols. 113r–113v, 6 Oct. 1576.

¹⁹ For the provveditore and disorder, see Chapter Six.

²⁰ ASE, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 87v–88r, 8 June 1591.

²¹ ASE, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 36r–36v, 9 Dec. 1574; fols. 36v, 11 Dec. 1574; 37v–38r, 5 Jan. 1575; fols. 38r–38v, 8 Jan. 1575.

lican period.²² Unlike the ufficiali but like the provveditore, the auditore was appointed by the grand duke for an unfixed period. Showing its significance, the office was always held by the senior figure in the ducal bureaucracy: Lelio Torelli, Giovan Battista Concini, and Paolo Vinta.²³ The auditore played a key role in the appointment of professors, receiving recommendations,²⁴ reading texts by applicants,²⁵ and negotiating contracts.²⁶ He himself recommended candidates for the chairs which were appointed by the rector and councillors.²⁷ All Studio payments, including the salaries of professors, had to be approved by him.²⁸ As noted, the auditore took an interest in the management of the student-university. Apart from regulating matriculation, he was consulted when it proved difficult to elect a rector in 1551.²⁹ The auditore was also a defender of the privileges of students and professors. He ordered the provveditore della dogana to respect the right of students and professors not to pay taxes, he reminded the commissario of Pisa that the rector had jurisdiction over all Pisan students and professors, and he confirmed to the rector the privilege of students and professors to bear

²² The ufficiali often included leading political figures, most famously Lorenzo de' Medici. For the ufficiali from 1473 to 1503, see Verde, *Lo Studio fiorentino*, Vol. 1, pp. 263–266, 271–281. For the ufficiali between 1515 and 1528, see ASF, Tratte 906, fol. 205r (formerly 115v).

²³ Lelio Torelli served as auditore dello studio from 1543 to 1576, see BUPi, Manoscritti 769, fol. 70r; BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fols. 23r, 59v. For his career, see Cinzia Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano dei legisti e i suoi progetti di revisione statutaria 1543–1613* (Pisa, 2005), p. 14, n. 36. Giovan Battista Concini was auditore from 1576 until 1605, see BUPi, Manoscritti 769, fol. 70r; BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fols. 63r, 75v. For his career, see Paolo Malanima, "Concini, Giovan Battista," *DBI*, Vol. 27, pp. 731–733. Paolo Vinta held the post from 1606 to 1609, see BUPi, Manoscritti 769, fol. 70r; BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fols. 76r, 77r. For his career, see Diaz, *Il Granducato*, pp. 92, 175, 242, 263, 281, 282, 284, 303, 308, 313, 368, 457, 460, 501.

²⁴ In 1599 Eleonora de' Medici repeated a recommendation she had made the previous year for Cesare Landini da Fivizzano, nephew of the capitano di giustizia in Mantua, for the next available position at the Studio pisano, see ASF, MdP 2942, unfoliated, 2 July 1599 (MAProj 4994).

²⁵ In 1543 Giacomo Porzio sent sample lectures to be evaluated by Lelio Torelli, see ASF, MdP 1171, fol. 281r (MAProj 7054), 12 Mar. 1543. In 1555 Bernardo de Bolca recommended Camillio Plautio for a position at Pisa, sending some writing on law by Plautio to be examined by Torelli, see ASF, MdP 3096, fol. 21r (MAProj 9823), 1 July 1555.

²⁶ In 1550 Francesco Vinta reported that Niccolò Boldoni had agreed to return to the Studio pisano for one year. Vinta sent Torelli the conditions Boldoni which was requesting, see ASF, MdP 3102, fol. 179r (MAProj 12089), 14 Oct. 1550.

²⁷ ASF, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 22v–23r, 9 May 1554.

²⁸ BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fols. 23r–77r.

²⁹ ASF, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 16v–17r, 15 May 1551.

arms.³⁰ The auditore was consulted by the rector regarding outbreaks of violence.³¹ He also gave advice “as a friend” rather than “as a decider” when the college of legists was unsure about numerary members.³² But when a dispute regarding precedence arose between the rector and the college of legists, he found in favour of the rector.³³ His decision that members of the college of arts who practiced medicine should matriculate in the Florentine Arte degli Speziali whilst those who only taught should not matriculate was upheld by the grand duke against the wishes of the college.³⁴ His intervention was also sought in matters of health and safety. When a furnace for the manufacture of glasses was built next to the Sapienza in 1577, the rector asked the auditore if it could be moved because of the danger of fire.³⁵

Although the auditore only had jurisdiction over the Studio pisano, very occasionally he was consulted on matters regarding the Studio senese. First, in September 1574 Francesco asked Lelio Torelli to examine the capitoli of the German nation in Siena, which sought legal recognition. Torelli was strongly supportive and he used the opportunity to promote the Studio senese at the expense of the Studio pisano. Secondly, in September 1589 Ferdinando sought the advice of Giovan Battista Concini before he would approve the projected reform of the Studio senese. Concini outlined a series of technical objections to the reform but he was overruled by Ferdinando.³⁶

The management of the Studio senese was the responsibility of the deputati di balìa and the governor of Siena. Following the enfeoffment of Siena, power naturally came to be concentrated in the hands of the duke and his representative in Siena, the governor. However, under the terms of the 1561 constitution, the ancient municipal councils remained, filled by members of the patriciate, the so-called ‘riseduti’. Some of these councils continued to be associated with the new offices

³⁰ For the letter to the provveditore della dogana, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 26r, July 1572. For the letter to the commissario of Pisa, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 52r–52v, 6 Oct. 1576. For the confirmation of the privilege to bear arms, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 25r–25v, 28 May 1562.

³¹ See Chapter Six.

³² Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 34–36.

³³ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 49v, 3 July 1576; fol. 51v, 6 Oct. 1576.

³⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 36 v 11 Dec. 1574; fol. 37r 18 Dec. 1574; fol. 37r 16 Dec. [sic] 1574; fols. 37v–38r 5 Jan. 1575; fols. 38r–38v 8 Jan. 1575.

³⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 54v–55r, 28 Mar. 1577.

³⁶ See Chapter Four.

of the Florentine bureaucracy for a long time. For example, the Balìa was the permanent council of the governor.³⁷ It regarded the Studio as “the chief ornament of the city, to which it brings great service and reputation” and it promoted the cause of the Studio whenever it could, sending regular embassies to ask the grand duke for an increase in the number of professors and a raise in salaries.³⁸ The Balìa also made representations on behalf of the Studio when Francesco visited Siena in September 1570 and when Ferdinando came to the city in June 1590.³⁹ Prior to the revival of the Studio under Ferdinando, the Balìa also sought support from the papacy. The Studio’s privileges were confirmed by Pope Sixtus V and the bull of 15 September 1585 which reformed the Studio *fermano* said it should be organised on the model of the most famous studi, especially that of Siena.⁴⁰

But the most important of the Balìa’s interventions was its election of a deputation which, together with the governor, managed the Studio. This deputation represented a reincarnation, adapted to the new context, of the suppressed republican magistracy of the *Quattro deputati sopra le condotte*, as outlined in the communal statutes of 1544/45. However, there were two important differences. Although the new deputation was permanent like its predecessor, it was not autonomous, being an internal commission of the Balìa, which could always decide matters for itself and which could also require the deputati to justify their actions. Furthermore, the new body could not settle matters itself; it had to refer to either the governor or the grand duke. Like other bodies of the Sienese government, it had to record when the governor was absent from its meetings. The deputation evolved over time as the number and even the name of these officials changed. But by the early 1570s the *deputazione sopra lo studio* had achieved stability and regular procedures had been introduced. Immediately following the election of the Balìa every February, it selected by secret ballot four of its members to serve as the *deputati di balìa sopra lo studio*, with a representative

³⁷ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 102. For the government of Siena from 1557 to 1737, see Marrara, *Studi giuridici*; Danilo Marrara, *Riseduti e nobiltà* (Pisa, 1976); *Il libro dei Leoni e la nobiltà di Siena (1557–1737)*, ed. Mario Ascheri (Milan, 1996).

³⁸ Embassies were sent in 1562, 1564, 1567, 1573, 1574, 1579, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1587, 1588, 1589, see Prunai, “*Lo Studio senese*,” pp. 84–87, 91, 93–97, 100. The grand duke usually received the embassies on 24 June, the feast of the patron saint of Florence, John the Baptist, when Siena paid homage.

³⁹ Prunai, “*Lo Studio senese*,” pp. 91, 100.

⁴⁰ Prunai, “*Lo Studio senese*,” p. 96.

for each of the factions or *monti*.⁴¹ Although the election was secret, some individuals served repeatedly as *deputati*, which may indicate a particular interest in the *Studio*.⁴² As *riseduti* and members of the *Balia*, all of the *deputati* belonged to the elite. However, it should be noted that many of them served as the *capitano del popolo*, the most distinguished office in the government of Siena open to citizens.⁴³

⁴¹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 105–107. For the known names of the *deputati* between 1557 and 1609, see Appendix I.

⁴² Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci served six or perhaps seven times as *deputato* and Messer Orlando di Bernardo Malavolti five times. The following men served four times as *deputati*: Annibale di Buonsignore Buonsignori; Flavio di Marco Chigi; Messer Lelio di Giovan Pecci; Messer Marco di Andrea Landucci. The following men served thrice as *deputati*: Fedro Bandini; Giovan Battista Tondi; Giulio di Girolamo Bargagli; Giulio Spannocchi; Maestro Francesco di Sigismondo Buoninsegni; Messer Attilio di Iacopo Tondi; Messer Buoninsegna Buoninsegni; Messer Francesco di Giovanni Palmieri; Messer Giovan Battista di Angelo Piccolimini; Messer Lattanzio di Marcello Biringucci; Messer Lorenzo di Bartolomeo Griffoli; Messer Muzio di Ascanio Brogioni; Messer Niccolò Forteguerra; Messer Scipione di Giulio Bargagli; Messer Virginio di Giovanni Turamini. For their service, see Appendix I.

⁴³ Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci served thrice as *capitano del popolo*. The following men served twice: Antonio Maria di Giovan Francesco Petrucci; Enea di Francesco Savini; Flaminio di Giustiniano Nelli; Iacopo di Guidino Guidini; Messer Adriano di Silvio Saracini; Messer Attilio di Iacopo Tondi; Messer Lorenzo di Bartolomeo Griffoli; Messer Orlando di Bernardo Malavolti; Messer Panfilo di Leonardo Colombini; Messer Scipione di Giovanni Palmieri; Paolo di Lodovico Puliti. The following men served once: Achille di Giovanni Donati; Achille di Lattanzio Petrucci; Aldobrando di Niccolò Cerretani; Alessandro di Andrea Trecerchi; Annibale di Buonsignore Buonsignori; Annibale di Cristoforo Tolomei; Antenore di Mario de' Vecchi; Antonio di Scipione Biringucci; Ascanio di Girolamo Beccafumi; Augusto di Mino Celsi; Belisario di Paride Bulgarini; Bernardino di Bartolomeo Tantucci; Bernardino di Fernando Benvoglianti; Carlo di Francesco de' Vecchi; Claudio di Roberto Sergardi; Conte Giulio di Tommaso d'Elci; Conte Marcello di Tommaso d'Elci; Egidio di Bartolomeo de' Vecchi; Fabio di Ridolfo Forteguerra; Federigo di Niccolò Sergardi; Fedro Bandini; Flavio di Marco Chigi; Giovan Battista di Lelio Guglielmi; Giovan Francesco Sansedoni, il *capitano del Popolo*; Girolamo di Deifebo Bindi; Giulio di Alessandro Del Taia; Giulio di Bartolomeo Petrucci; Giulio di Girolamo Bargagli; Guidino di Iacopo Guidini; Guido di Annibale Savini; Ippolito di Marcello Agostini; Lelio di Iacopo Tolomei; Marcantonio di Carlo Benassai; Messer Adriano di Pandolfo Borghesi; Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci; Messer Alessandro di Giovanni Battista Beccarini, cavaliere; Messer Alessandro di Lattanzio Petrucci, cavaliere; Messer Antonio Maria Petrucci; Messer Belisario di Paride Bulgarini; Messer Camillo Palmieri; Messer Claudio di Cristoforo Santi; Messer Filippo Buoninsegni; Messer Fortunio di Giovan Battista Martini, cavaliere; Messer Francesco di Antonio Maria Tommasi; Messer Francesco di Giovanni Palmieri; Messer Giovan Battista di Angelo Piccolimini; Messer Giovan Battista di Girolamo Ballati; Messer Girolamo di Giovanni Battista Benvoglianti; Messer Lattanzio di Marcello Biringucci; Messer Lelio di Giovanni Pecci; Messer Lodovico di Giovan Battista Accarigi; Messer Marco di Andrea Landucci; Messer Mino Celsi; Messer Muzio di Ascanio Brogioni; Messer Niccolò di Alessandro Finetti; Messer Niccolò Forteguerra; Messer Orazio di Conterio Sansedoni; Messer Ottavio di Angelo Ugurgieri, cavaliere; Messer Scipione di Mariano Venturi; Messer Virginio di

The duties of the deputati were vast and varied. Together with the governor, they prepared the roll of professors; they enforced the regulations regarding lectures and disputations; they resolved the conflicts which could arise between the professors in matters of precedence, of teaching accommodation, and of timetabling; they checked that the professors performed their duties; every four months they authorised the payment by the depositario of the teaching and non-teaching staff of the Studio; they cared for the Studio's good name and sought ways in which to attract new foreign students; they conducted negotiations with men who might come to Siena to teach; they studied projects to reform existing regulations; and they sent suggestions and supplications to the grand duke.⁴⁴ Despite the revival of the rectorate, under the terms of the 1591 reform the main organ of government in the Studio remained the deputati di balia.⁴⁵

The governors of Siena were supportive of the Studio and they promoted it to the duke. In 1557 Agnolo Niccolini lobbied Cosimo so that a teaching roll could be produced. Seven years later Niccolini encouraged the Balìa to send a deputation to Florence to tell the duke of the universal benefit which the Studio brought. In 1564 Niccolini wrote to Cosimo, explaining that he continually made requests on behalf of the Studio since it would entirely restore Siena. Similar sentiments were expressed by Niccolini's successors Lattanzio Lattanzi in 1583 and Giulio Del Caccia in 1587.⁴⁶

The duke regularly deferred to the governor in matters relating to the Studio. For example, Cosimo told Niccolini to deal with matters as he saw fit when Niccolini altered the teaching roll in 1561 and when a professor of medicine, Francesco Buoninsegna, appealed to Cosimo over Niccolini's head for an increase in salary in 1562.⁴⁷ Most important, however, was the ducal instruction that the governor exercise justice, a

Giovanni Turamini; Muzio di Domenico Placidi; Niccolò di Preziano Costanti; Orazio di Ghino Azzoni; Pandolfo di Enea Savini; Porfirio di Alfonso Cinughi; Scipione di Cristoforo Chigi; Scipione di Mino Verdelli; Scipione di Niccolò Borghesi; Tullio di Pietro Benassai. For their service as deputati, see Appendix I. For their service as capitano del Popolo, see "I 'riseduti' della città di Siena in età medicea," ed. Maria A. Ceppari Ridolfi, Sarita Massai, and Patrizia Turrini, in *Il libro dei Leoni e la nobiltà di Siena (1557–1737)*, ed. Mario Ascheri (Milan, 1996), pp. 503–528.

⁴⁴ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 87–90, 106, 107–108, 110, 130–132.

⁴⁵ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 120–121.

⁴⁶ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," pp. 83, 85–87, 95, 97.

⁴⁷ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 84.

responsibility which involved him in numerous cases of disorder and violence at the Studio.⁴⁸

As noted, the one common factor in the administrations of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese was the grand duke. It will, therefore, be useful to compare as far as possible the parts played at Pisa and Siena by Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando in the appointment of professors, the organisation of teaching, and the management of the colleges of doctors and the student-university. Such a comparison will hopefully shed light on the alleged centralisation of the grand dukes as well as on their individual attitudes to the Studio pisano and the Studio senese.

In 1560 Cosimo reminded the commissario of Pisa of the effort and expense which had been spent on setting up and maintaining the Studio pisano.⁴⁹ No-one had given more than Cosimo. It has been argued that the appointment, the promotion, and the salary of each professor at Pisa depended on the will of the grand duke.⁵⁰ Cosimo certainly took a direct approach to appointments. He was personally involved in negotiations to bring several professors to Pisa, including the celebrated anatomist Andreas Vesalius and the most famous Italian legist of the sixteenth century, Andrea Alciato.⁵¹ Furthermore Cosimo's intervention was useful when professors were poached from other universities. For example, when Rinaldo Ridolfi was appointed to a chair

⁴⁸ See Chapter Six.

⁴⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A I 3, fols. 77v–78r. Cosimo said he would not allow the commissario to ruin an institution which cost 10,000 ducats a year.

⁵⁰ Antonio Marongiu, "I professori dell'Università di Pisa sotto il regime granducale," in *Studi in memoria di L. Mossa*, 2 vols. (Padua, 1961), Vol. 2, pp. 591–601; Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, p. 16.

⁵¹ For Cosimo's negotiations with Vesalius, see ASF, MdP 3, fol. 2, fol. 469r (MAProj 19960), 3 Nov. 1544; ASF, MdP 3, fol. 2, fol. 483r (MAProj 19965), 9 Dec. 1544; ASF, MdP 1171, fol. 6, fol. 286r (MAProj 2435); fol. 286r, 22 Jan. 1544. For Vesalius' life and works, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 331–333. For Cosimo's negotiations with Alciato, see ASF, MdP 185, fol. 120 (MAProj 14484), 22 June 1544; ASF, MdP 7, fol. 277 (MAProj 4160), 18 Aug. 1544; ASF, MdP 8, fol. 9 (MAProj 4319), 9 Sept. 1546; ASF, MdP 8, fol. 20 (MAProj 4321), 11 Sept. 1546; ASF, MdP 8, fol. 48 (MAProj 4325), 22 Sept. 1546; ASF, MdP 8, fol. 95 (MAProj 4333), 10 Oct. 1546; ASF, MdP 1176b, fol. 6 (MAProj 3281), 4 Nov. 1547; Roberto Abbondanza, "Tentativi medicei di chiamare l'Alciato allo Studio di Pisa (1542–1547)," *Annali di storia del diritto* 2 (1958): 361–403. For Alciato's life and works, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 439–440. For Cosimo's negotiations with other professors, see ASF, MdP 2, fol. 494 (MAProj 7432), 21 Nov. 1542; ASF, MdP 8, fol. 117 (MAProj 4339), 23 Oct. 1546; ASF, MdP 10, fol. 367 (MAProj 5401), 16 Aug. 1547; ASF, MdP 186, fol. 36 (MAProj 864), 19 Aug. 1547; ASF, MdP 9, fol. 26 (MAProj 4463), 15 Sept. 1547; and ASF, MdP 216, fol. 115 (MAProj 11560), 6 Oct. 1562.

at Pisa in 1557, the government of Perugia accepted the loss of the best professor at the Studio peruginio because they wanted to preserve good relations with Cosimo.⁵² The key part played by the grand dukes in the appointment process at Pisa led to them being targeted by applicants and their supporters.⁵³ But this role was sometimes reversed when the grand duke asked the rector and councillors to appoint men to the teaching posts at Pisa which were under their control.⁵⁴

The system of appointments at Siena was different to that at Pisa. As noted, the teaching roll was usually produced by the *deputati di balia* in consultation with the governor. Nevertheless the roll had to be approved by the grand duke.⁵⁵ Occasionally he overruled the choice which was presented to him. For example, when a friar sought the chair of philosophy in 1581, his appointment was opposed by Francesco, who said that he did not want friars giving such lectures.⁵⁶ The situation was complicated by the reform of the Studio senese in 1589 which introduced the revolutionary system of competitions (*concorsi*) for most chairs. However, the new arrangement was undermined by both the grand duke, who reserved the right to appoint several chairs, and the professors, who either refused to take part, entered only one candidate, or arranged the outcome in advance.⁵⁷

Funding was key to the appointment of professors. Teaching at the Studio pisano was paid by the taxation of property acquired by the Church in the Florentine state prior to 1516.⁵⁸ However, it is now

⁵² ASF, MdP 465, fol. 182 (MAProj 16821), 16 Nov. 1557.

⁵³ See ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 20r, 5 Mar. 1553, fols. 20v–21v, 22 June 1553–27 July 1553, fol. 75r, 29 Dec. 1584; ASF, MdP 362, fol. 39 (MAProj 2157), 6 Aug. 1543; ASF, MdP 186, fol. 36 (MAProj 864), 19 Aug. 1547; ASF, MdP 413a, fol. 1106 (MAProj 3065), 9 Mar. 1553; ASF, MdP 418, fol. 106 (MAProj 3380), 10 Mar. 1553; ASF, MdP 418, fol. 106 (MAProj 3380), 10 Mar. 1553; ASF, MdP 3096, fol. 36r (MAProj 9827), 8 Oct. 1555; ASF, MdP 2938, unfoliated (MAProj 16242), 21 Sept. 1563; ASF, MdP 515, fol. 144r (MAProj 20144), 8 Apr. 1565; ASF, MdP 538a, fol. 884r (MAProj 14762), 14 Oct. 1568; ASF, MdP 5154, fol. 58r (MAProj 8469), 11 Feb. 1572; ASF, MdP 269, fol. 163r (MAProj 16392), 2 Nov. 1586; ASF, MdP 2944, fol. 356r (MAProj 5074), 13 July 1607; ASF, MdP 2944, fol. 642r (MAProj 5108), 16 Jan. 1609.

⁵⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 22v, 8 May 1554.

⁵⁵ On 2 November 1587 the new governor of Siena, Giulio del Caccia, had to request the sending of the roll from Florence since lessons were due to start the following day. The approval of the roll had been delayed as Francesco had died on 17 October. See Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," pp. 96–97.

⁵⁶ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 94.

⁵⁷ See Chapter Four.

⁵⁸ See Chapter One.

apparent that for most of the period from 1543 to 1609 the Studio was run at a financial loss.⁵⁹ This represents a complete contrast to the situation between 1473 and 1503 when the Studio generated a considerable profit of around 4,000 florins a year.⁶⁰ The balance of accounts suggests that the grand dukes had a very different view of the Studio from that of their republican forefathers with its cultural importance and the consequent status outweighing monetary gain.

The funding of the Studio senese was a perennial problem. Under the republic, teaching had been financed from various sources including the gabella dei contratti, the gabella del vino, and the gabella dei paschi.⁶¹ Article 4 of the surrender demands made by the Sienese of Cosimo requested “the preservation and maintenance of the Studio with all its incomes, revenues, privileges, and immunities, allowing it to open and teach all the subjects as used to happen before the war and in the good times.” Although money would continue to be raised from the gabella dei contratti as well as the *supplemento per decreti*, in the margin of the articles of surrender Cosimo himself wrote that only what was reasonable would be done.⁶² He told the king of Spain that the siege of 1554–1555 had left the Sienese state in utter desolation.⁶³ The critical position of the Sienese economy had a notable impact on the Studio whose main problem was always the scarcity of funds for teaching.⁶⁴ It resulted in the appointment of native professors rather than more expensive foreigners as well as in regular complaints of non-payment and demands for an increase in salaries.⁶⁵

What do the numbers of chairs, the teaching budgets, and the level of salaries tell us of the attitudes of Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando to the Studio pisano and the Studio senese? We can now appreciate the expense in reopening the Studio pisano of which Cosimo wrote.⁶⁶ There was a steady rise in the number of chairs and the teaching budget

⁵⁹ See Appendix IV.

⁶⁰ Robert Black, “Higher Education in Florentine Tuscany: New Documents from the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century,” in *Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, ed. Peter Denley and Caroline Elam (London, 1988), pp. 209–222 (pp. 214, 217–218).

⁶¹ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, pp. 99–101.

⁶² Prunai, “Lo Studio senese,” pp. 81–83.

⁶³ Prunai, “Lo Studio senese,” pp. 79–80. The population had fallen from 40,000 to 6,000.

⁶⁴ Prunai, “Lo Studio senese,” pp. 81, 93.

⁶⁵ Prunai, “Lo Studio senese,” p. 93; Catoni, “Le riforme del granduca,” p. 46.

⁶⁶ The following analysis is based on Figures 1, 2, and 3, and on Appendix V.

Fig. 1. Numbers of Chairs at the Studio pisano and Studio senese, 1543–1608
Sources: Appendices V and VI

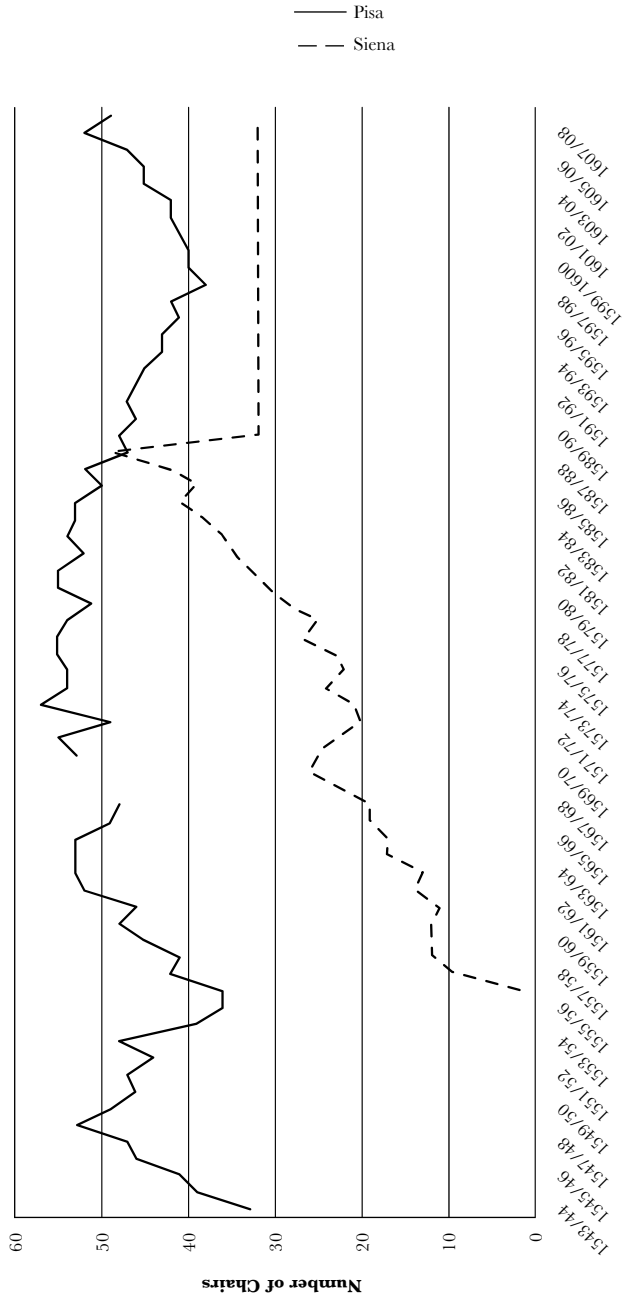


Fig. 2. Teaching Budgets at the Studio pisano and Studio senese, 1543–1608
Sources: Appendices V and VI

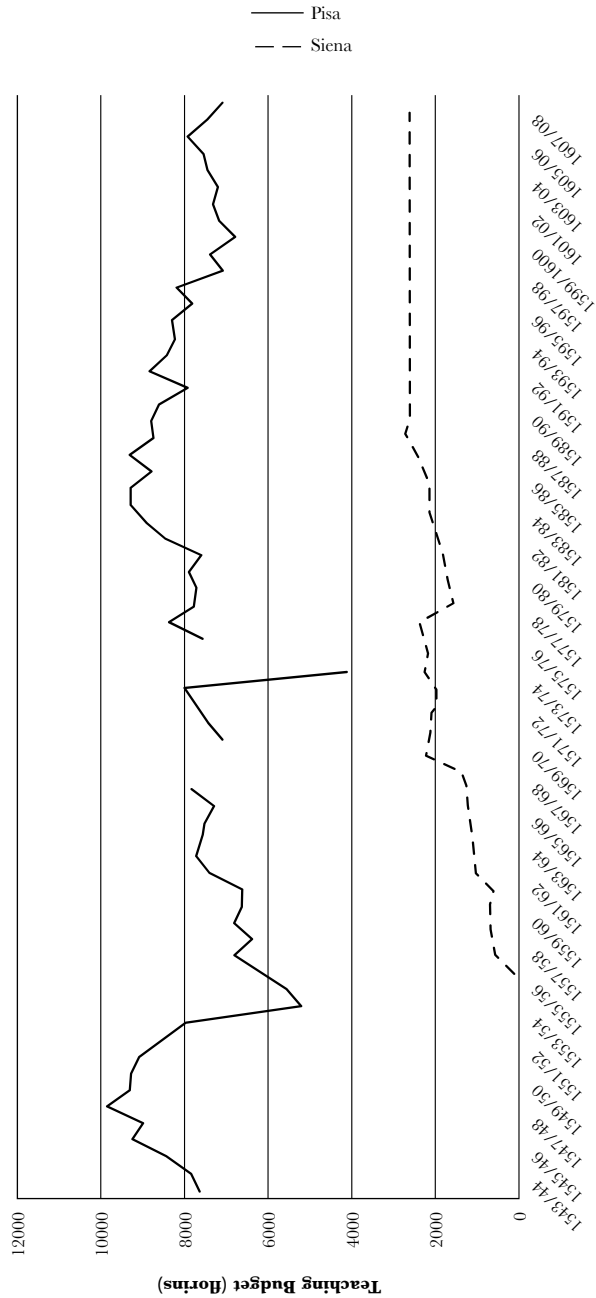
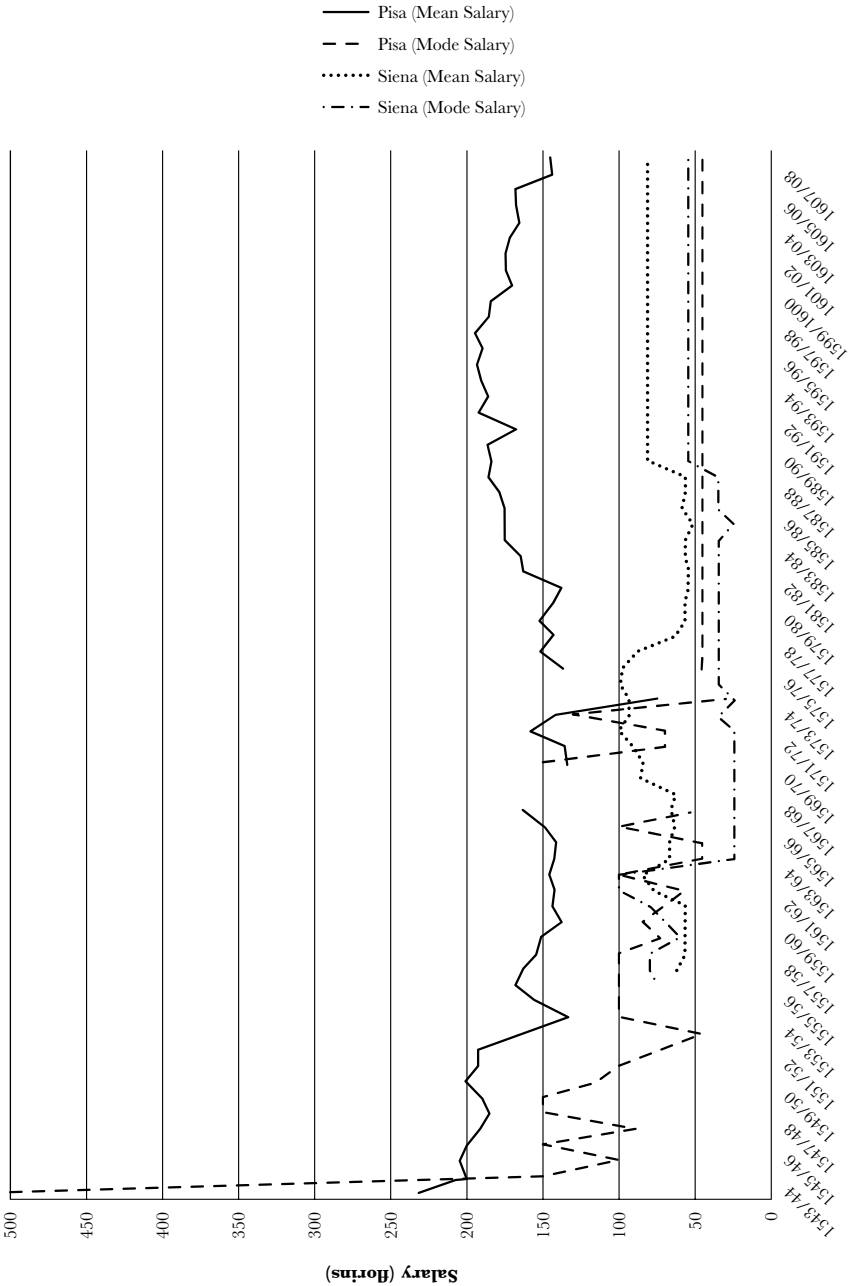


Fig. 3. Salaries at the Studio pisano and Studio senese, 1543–1608
Sources: Appendices V and VI



until fifty-three professors were employed at a cost of 9879 florins in 1548/49. The wish to attract professors to Pisa meant that, of the entire period between 1543 and 1609, the highest mean salary (231 florins) and the highest mode salary (500 florins) were paid in 1543/44. The early 1550s saw stability in the number of chairs, the teaching budget, and the level of salaries. However, there was a sharp decline in the middle of the decade when Florence was at war with Siena. Following the cessation of hostilities, the number of chairs increased gradually until there were between fifty and fifty-seven during Francesco's regency and his reign. There was also growth in the mean salary and the teaching budget, which reached a peak of 9330 florins in 1587/88.⁶⁷ The mode salary was volatile between 1559 and 1576, when the lowest salary of 45 florins became the most common, a feature which remained until 1609. The first decade of Ferdinando's rule saw a decline in both the number of chairs and the teaching budget. The situation began to improve in 1599 until by 1607/08 there were fifty-two professors costing 7473 florins. However, following a rise in the 1590s, the mean salary declined in the first decade of the seventeenth century, with a particularly sharp drop between 1607 and 1609. Although there were still individual professors with high salaries, there was a general decrease in wages at Pisa in the final years of Ferdinando's rule.

Under the first three grand dukes the Studio senese was always the poor relation of the Studio pisano.⁶⁸ On only one occasion did the number of chairs at Siena exceed that at Pisa and the teaching budget was usually only a third that of its Tuscan rival. There was a gradual increase in the number of chairs until the early 1570s, which then saw a slight decline. This was followed by steady expansion until a maximum of forty-nine was reached in 1588/89. The teaching budget rose slowly between the late 1550s and the late 1560s but in 1569/70 it was 2235 florins, an increase of 38% on that of the previous year. There was stability until 1578/79 when the budget was slashed to 1565 florins, a decrease of 52%. Recovery was measured and it was not until 1588/89 that the budget reached its maximum level of 2735 florins. The mean salary was volatile between 1557 and 1572, when it arrived at 100 florins. This remained the level until 1577 when it began to

⁶⁷ The payment records for 1568/69, 1569/70, and 1575/76 are missing. Those for 1574/75 are confused and probably incomplete.

⁶⁸ The following analysis is based on Figures 1, 2, and 3, Appendix VI, and Mar-rara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 159–161, 227–264.

fall, reaching a low of fifty-two florins in 1585/86. There was greater stability in the mode salary. After peaking at 100 florins from 1562 to 1564, it settled at 25 florins until 1573, when it rose to 35 florins, at which level it remained until 1588. The reform of 1589 brought major changes in the number of chairs, the teaching budget, and the level of salaries. These were now all fixed. The number of professors fell to thirty-two. However, the teaching budget was high at 2,600 florins, as was the mean salary (81 florins) and the mode salary (55 florins).⁶⁹

It has been argued that Cosimo and Ferdinando favoured the Studio pisano whilst Francesco preferred the Studio senese.⁷⁰ As far as Cosimo is concerned, this case is true. In terms of the number of chairs, the teaching budget, and the level of salaries, it is clear that the Studio pisano flourished under Cosimo with the only downturn occurring during the war with Siena. Following the enfeoffment in 1557, Cosimo only allowed the Studio senese to grow gradually. However, the nature of Francesco's patronage of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese was in fact the reverse of how it has been portrayed. During his regency and reign the Studio pisano grew and it was Francesco who approved both the largest number of chairs (fifty-seven in 1573/74) as well as the highest teaching budget (9330 florins in 1587/88). In contrast, the development of the Studio senese was unstable under Francesco. The number of chairs did continue to grow and there was a significant increase in the budget in 1569/70 but Sienese expansion was achieved by adding numerous additional professors of law at very modest salaries and there was a severe budget cut in 1578/79.⁷¹ In contrast, the Studio pisano fared badly during the first ten years of Ferdinando's reign with the number of professors and the budget both falling. Recovery came after 1599 and then only with a lowering of salaries. Meanwhile, Ferdinando gave strong support to the Studio senese. Admittedly, the number of chairs was reduced but the budget and salaries were raised.

This view of the differing appointment policies of the grand dukes tallies with their attitudes to the reform of the Studio senese. As Danilo Marrara has argued in his study of Ferdinando's reforms of 1589 and 1591, the first years of his reign represented the period in which the Medici regime paid greatest attention to the search for and realisation

⁶⁹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 159–161, 227–264.

⁷⁰ See n. 4.

⁷¹ The reliance on low grade professors of law was observed by Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 52.

of organic, and in part entirely new and original, structures of government for the Studio senese. The organisation of the Studio had been left largely untouched by Cosimo and Francesco but under the third grand duke it was to undergo one of the richest and most stimulating experiences in its history. Ferdinando's treatment of the Studio should be seen in the context of his wideranging reform of Siennese institutions.⁷²

With the professors appointed, the grand dukes were directly involved in the teaching at Pisa in several ways. The closest involvement came from Cosimo who even attended lectures and degree ceremonies as well as dining with professors.⁷³ Failure to honour teaching appointments could be a matter for the grand dukes. For example, in 1548 Cosimo sought to persuade Realdo Colombo to return from Rome to complete his contract.⁷⁴ Absenteeism was a problem and Francesco and Ferdinando both objected to professors not teaching on all the days stipulated in the statutes.⁷⁵ Finally, the teaching of anatomy was sometimes a matter for the grand duke. For Vesalius' lessons, Cosimo ordered that two corpses be found in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence and sent secretly to Pisa.⁷⁶ Francesco also declared that bodies should be provided for the anatomist.⁷⁷

The grand dukes played some part in the management of the colleges of doctors and the student-university at Pisa. They had ultimate authority over the colleges, as was shown when they overruled proposed reforms of the college of legists in 1558 and 1583.⁷⁸ It was also

⁷² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 1. For the Siennese reforms, see Introduction, n. 12.

⁷³ This occurred in the 1540s as Cosimo sought to bolster the Studio following its reopening. In 1543 he attended a lecture by Niccolò Guicciardini, see ASF, MdP 1171, insert 6, fol. 286r (MAProj 2435), 22 Jan. 1543. In 1544 he was at a lecture by Giovan Battista Roncagalli, see ASF, MdP 1171, insert 8, fol. 350r (MAProj 2422), 22 Apr. 1544. In 1545 he was to be present at the ceremony for Onofrio Camaiani's doctorate, see ASF, MdP 1171, insert 1, fol. 18r (MAProj 6172), 10 Feb. 1545. Also in 1545 Cosimo and Eleanora dined with Simone Porzio and other unidentified professors, see ASF, MdP 1172, insert 2, fol. 39rr (MAProj 2455), 16 May 1545. In 1547 Cosimo promised to attend the lectures of Guido Guidi, see ASF, MdP 9, fol. 269r (MAProj 4619).

⁷⁴ ASF, MdP 11, fol. 41r (MAProj 6938), 11 Apr. 1548.

⁷⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 35r–35v, 12 Dec. 1566; ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 47v–48r, 23 Jan. 1576; fol. 48v 26 Jan. 1576; fol. 48v 29 Feb. 1576; fol. 55r 20 May 1577, fols. 75v–76r, 23 Mar. 1584; fol. 89v 20 Aug. 1592.

⁷⁶ ASF, MdP 1171, insert 6, fol. 286r (MAProj 2435), 22 Jan. 1543.

⁷⁷ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 68r, 6 Dec. 1581; fol. 78r, 15 Dec. 1585.

⁷⁸ See Chapter Four.

demonstrated in 1546 when Cosimo ordered the college of legists to award a doctorate to Francesco Torelli, in 1570 when Cosimo was consulted by the college of legists on the contentious question of free doctorates for the sons of teaching professors, in 1574 when Francesco decided that members of the college of arts who practiced medicine should matriculate in the Florentine *Arte degli Speciali*, and in 1575 when Francesco insisted that the *provveditore dello studio* be made a member of the college of legists.⁷⁹ Although not specified in the statutes, the election of the rector of the student-university at Pisa became subject to the duke's approval, but this was entirely a formality.⁸⁰ When the rectorate at Siena was finally revived in 1589 with the key support of Ferdinando, its recreation led to a series of disputes with other parts of the Studio, including the colleges of doctors, which required the grand duke's intervention.⁸¹

As well as disagreements within the *Studio pisano* and the *Studio senese*, violence and disorder also occupied the grand duke.⁸² In part these intercessions were necessary because of their giving wideranging jurisdiction to the rectors in addition to other privileges for students, especially the right to bear arms. This jurisdiction and these privileges strengthened significantly the student-universities to which we shall now turn our attention.

THE STUDENTS

Apart from the important differences between the administrations of the *Studio pisano* and the *Studio senese*, there were also significant variations in their student-universities for most of the period between the enfeoffment of Siena in 1557 and the death of Ferdinando in 1609. The 1545 statutes of the student-university at Pisa created a powerful rectorate with substantial civil and criminal jurisdiction. The

⁷⁹ For the question of free doctorates, see Chapter Four. For the college of arts and medicine and the *Arte degli Speciali*, see n. 21. For the *provveditore's* membership of the college of legists, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 41r–41v, 6 July 1575.

⁸⁰ Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, p. 122, n. 11. When it proved difficult to appoint a rector in 1551 and 1552 Cosimo was consulted, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 15r–15v, 8 May 1551; fol. 15v, 12 May 1551, fol. 16r, 14 May 1551; fol. 16v, 13 May 1551; fols. 18r–18v, 15 May 1551; fols. 19r–19v, 15 May 1552.

⁸¹ See Chapter Four.

⁸² See Chapter Six.

sentences available to the rector included the death penalty, a power without equal at other Italian universities. The 1545 statutes also gave students valuable privileges, especially the rights to bear arms and to not pay taxes.⁸³ When Cosimo ordered the commissario of Pisa to release a student whom he had imprisoned in 1560, he argued that the statutes and privileges of the student-university were an important factor in attracting scholars to Pisa.⁸⁴ Meanwhile the situation in Siena under Cosimo and Francesco was very dissimilar. No new statutes for the student-university were introduced there. Instead it continued to be governed by the communal statutes of 1544/45 which had tied the rector to the republican regime.⁸⁵ It is unsurprising, therefore, that, whilst there was a continuous succession of rectors at Pisa from 1544 to 1609, no rectors were elected at Siena between 1542 and 1590.⁸⁶ In the absence of a rector in Siena, leadership over some of the students fell *de facto* to two officers: the camarlingo of the student residential college, the Casa della Sapienza, and the consigliere of the German nation, the largest community of foreign students in the city.⁸⁷ The revival of the rectorate and the student-university had to await Ferdinando's extensive reforms of 1589 and 1591. With his support, the rector and the students in Siena finally achieved jurisdiction and privileges approaching, if not equal to, those enjoyed by their counterparts in Pisa.

⁸³ For the text of the 1545 statutes, see "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Danilo Marrara in *Storia dell'Università di Pisa*, 1, part 2 (Pisa, 1993), pp. 569–656.

⁸⁴ For Cosimo's letter, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A I 3, fols. 77v–78r, 3 Mar. 1560. In 1581 the rector told Francesco that professors and students would not come to Pisa if their rights to not pay gabelles were infringed, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 65r, 15 Mar. 1581. When a professor was arrested for bearing arms in Vicopisano in 1588, the rector reminded the auditore that foreigners would not come to Pisa without their privileges, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 85r, 26 Aug. 1588.

⁸⁵ For the text of the sections of the communal statutes relating to the Studio senese, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 297–302. For the dependency of the rector on the regime, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 96–99.

⁸⁶ For the rectors at Pisa, see Fabroni, *Historia*, Vol. 2, pp. 59–61. For the absence of rectors at Siena, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 101–102. It should be noted that between 1502 and 1541 there were only thirteen years with either a rector or vicerector at Siena.

⁸⁷ For the camarlingo of the Sapienza, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 108–109; Catoni, "Le riforme del granduca," p. 46; Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 13, 14, 65, 68, 109–110. For the consigliere of the German nation, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 120 and Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 50, 63, 66, 180. For the development of the Sapienza, see Giuliano Catoni, "Genesi e ordinamento della Sapienza di Siena," *Studi senesi* 85 (1973): 155–198.

Given the revival of the rectorates as well as the powers granted by the grand dukes to the students first at Pisa and then at Siena, it will be useful to analyse the student-universities in these cities. This is particularly important as the experience in the Tuscan universities appears to go against that at other universities in the Italian states.⁸⁸ This analysis will examine the organisation of the student-universities, the jurisdiction of the rector and the privileges of the students, the role of the rector in teaching provision, and his relationship with the colleges of doctors.

Every student who attended the Studio pisano and the Studio senese had to register in the matriculation book and pay the related tax. Matriculation was essential to participate in the elections of the student-university. It was also required for the enjoyment of student privileges. Given its importance, the careful supervision of the matriculation records was a particular responsibility of the rector.⁸⁹ The size of Italian universities is largely a matter of guesswork and estimates should be treated with caution.⁹⁰ However, it has been argued that the student population of Pisa was around 300 per annum in the 1540s, between 400 and 500 in the 1550s and 1560s, and about 600 from 1560 until the end of the sixteenth century. There were probably fewer students at Siena with around 250 in the mid-1550s rising to approximately 500 in the last decades of the century. This compares with student populations of between 1,500 and 2,000 at Bologna, about 1,600 at Padua, and from 200 to 300 at Perugia.⁹¹

According to the 1545 statutes, the student-university at Pisa was composed of two main groups of students: the ultramontanes and the citramontanes. These were further divided into nations. The ultramontanes included the nations of the Germans, the Spanish, and the

⁸⁸ See nn. 2–3.

⁸⁹ For matriculation at Pisa, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 31v, 15 Aug. 1573; fol. 32r, 19 Aug. 1573; fols. 49r–49v, 20 June 1576; fols. 95v–96r, 22 Feb. 1596; “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, pp. 580, 588–589; *Libri matricularum Studii Pisani 1543–1609*, ed. Rodolfo Del Gratta (Pisa, 1983); Marrara, “L’età medicea,” pp. 120–123; Giuliana Volpi Rosselli, “Il corpo studentesco, i collegi e le accademie,” in *Storia dell’Università di Pisa*, 1, part 1 (Pisa, 1993), pp. 377–468 (pp. 379, 462). For matriculation at Siena, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 291; Prunai, “Lo Studio senese,” pp. 117, 119; Cascio Pratilli, *L’Università e il Principe*, pp. 14, 50, 108–109.

⁹⁰ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 239.

⁹¹ Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 19, 34, 55, 69, 76. Student numbers at Siena appear to have increased significantly from 1594; Giugurta Tommasi had fifty studying philosophy with him alone, see Prunai, “Lo Studio senese,” p. 114.

French whilst the citramontanes contained the nations of the Sicilians, the Piedmontese, the Neapolitans, the Marchigiani, the Venetians, the Lombards, the Romans, the Ligurians, the Romagnoli, the Florentines, and the Tuscans.⁹² Between 1543 and 1619, degrees were awarded at Pisa to 3175 Tuscans, representing 56% of the total number of graduates. Of these, almost all came from the *stato vecchio*. Amongst the other Italian states, Sicily provided most graduates (545) at Pisa in the sixteenth century. It was followed to a lesser extent by Liguria and Sardinia. Ease of access by sea would seem to have been a factor in attracting these men to Pisa. Of the foreign graduates in the sixteenth century, 463 came from Spain and 50 from Portugal. This was understandable given the close political, commercial, and military ties between Tuscany and Iberia. In contrast, only 33 graduates were French and there were even fewer from the Low Countries, Austria, England, Ireland, Scotland, Malta, Switzerland, Poland, and Bohemia.⁹³

The situation in Siena was both similar and dissimilar to that in Pisa. Of the 1387 men who received degrees between 1484 and 1573, 876 are known to have come from the Italian states. Of these 417 were Tuscan, 161 came from Sicily, 88 from Umbria, 71 from Lazio, and 67 from the Marche with far fewer from the other regions. Amongst the non-Italians, by far the largest group were the Germans with 191 graduates. They were followed by 49 Spanish, 49 French, 31 Portuguese, 27 Belgians, 27 Dutch, 16 Austrians, and 10 Poles. Handfuls of graduates came from Bohemia, Cyprus, the Balkans, the Baltic, England, Romenia, Sweden, and Switzerland.⁹⁴

The importance of the German nation at Siena cannot be overestimated. Since the late fifteenth century the *Studio senese* had attracted German students and between 1583 and 1704 as many as 10,000 may have studied there. The German nation had its own matriculation, its own library, and its own archive. It was governed by a *consigliere* and various other officials. The nation had its own chapel in the church of San Domenico where it celebrated the beginning of the academic year and where it buried its dead. Such were its numbers that some were also buried in the nave. Given the economic value of the German students

⁹² "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 579–590.

⁹³ For the geographical origins of graduates at Pisa, see Volpi Rosselli, "Il corpo studentesco," pp. 393–403, 463–467. For the links between Tuscany and Iberia, see Chapter One.

⁹⁴ Minnucci, "Il conferimento dei titoli," pp. 221–223.

and the honour which they brought to the city, the Sienese authorities were well-disposed to them, as was Francesco who protected them from the Inquisition and, despite fears of the spread of Lutheranism, approved their statutes in 1574. Ferdinando also looked favourably on the German nation, ordering judges and other officials to give it every possible satisfaction, to treat it lovingly and with respect, and to punish severely anyone who offended it. In addition, the grand dukes gave the German students the significant right to carry offensive and defensive arms even at night, a privilege which led to numerous cases of violence and disorder.⁹⁵

With regard to the subject of degrees, the experience at Pisa and Siena was very similar. Of the 3954 degrees awarded at the Studio pisano between 1543 and 1600, 70 per cent were in law, 19 per cent were in arts and/or medicine, and 11 per cent were in theology.⁹⁶ Of the 1387 degrees granted at the Studio senese between 1484 and 1573, 76 per cent were in law, 19 per cent were in arts and/or medicine, and 4 per cent were in theology.⁹⁷ The dominance of law at Pisa and Siena was typical of all Italian universities in the sixteenth century. The expansion in the jurisdiction of states across Europe as well as the increase in diplomatic activity required men with legal training.⁹⁸

Once matriculated, students at Siena had the right to participate in the elections of the student-universities at Pisa and Siena.⁹⁹ From 1544

⁹⁵ For the German nation at Siena, see Weigle, "Die deutschen Doktorpromotionen in Siena von 1485–1804," 199–251; Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," pp. 122–126, 129–130; Fritz Weigle, *Die Matrikel der deutschen Nation in Siena (1573–1738)*, 2 vols. (Tübingen 1962); Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 139–143, 328; Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 26, 41–50, 53, 55, 57, 58–60, 63, 66, 67–68, 79, 80, 88, 93, 94, 104, 109, 110, 111, 113, 179–181, 189; Catoni, "Le riforme del granduca," p. 47; *I tedeschi nella storia dell'Università di Siena*, ed. Minnucci; Ingrid Matschinegg, "Österreicher als Universitätsbesucher in Italien (1500–1630)," (Ph.D. diss., University of Graz, 1999), pp. 31–38; Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 242. For the impact of the Counter Reformation (including the Inquisition) on Italian universities, see the excellent discussion in Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 186–195. For violence and disorder involving German students at Siena, see Chapter Six.

⁹⁶ Volpi Rosselli, "Il corpo studentesco," pp. 403–407.

⁹⁷ Minnucci, "Il conferimento dei titoli," p. 221.

⁹⁸ Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 473.

⁹⁹ The Pisan statutes specify that participation in elections also required the student to have attended the Studio for at least month, to be at least fifteen years old, to be without a doctorate, to have no other occupation, and to be without disgrace, see "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, p. 10.

the student-university at Pisa was led by a rector.¹⁰⁰ He was elected for a year. He had to be a matriculated student without a doctorate and without a bad name. He had to have been born of a legitimate marriage. He had to be at least twenty-two years of age and to have studied at a studio for at least five years. In order to raise the international profile of the Studio, the rector could not be a Pisan or married to a Pisan woman. The ultramontanes were preferred to the citramontanes whilst Florentines and other subjects of the duke could only be considered if no other candidate could be found. The rector could be either a student of law or of arts; if the latter, he had to be assisted by a student of law when he exercised his judicial powers.¹⁰¹ The election of the rector was a long and complex process which took place in the archiepiscopal palace in Pisa on 1 May. The electors included the outgoing rector, the sixteen consiglieri, and eighteen aggiunti, who were selected solely for this purpose—two chosen by the rector and one by each of the consiglieri. The names of the candidates were presented by a special commission comprising the rector and four others chosen from amongst the consiglieri and the aggiunti. In the first vote only ultramontane candidates were considered. If there were no such candidates or if they failed to get the necessary majority of votes, there would be a new election with citramontane candidates. If a rector was not chosen by this process, the electors would vote on candidates who were subjects of the duke. If there were no candidates for the rectorate, a vicerelector was to be elected with fewer privileges and at a lower salary.¹⁰²

The student-university at Siena was without a rector between 1557 and 1590. Thereafter the office was held intermittently until 1609.¹⁰³ In January 1588 the Balìa had established a special commission to study how the rectorate could be revived. Their report was then studied by a second commission of the Balìa. Finally it was presented to the governor, Giulio del Caccia. The initiative came from the Siennese ruling class

¹⁰⁰ For a list of the rectors at Pisa between 1544 and 1609, see Fabroni, *Historia*, Vol. 2, pp. 59–61.

¹⁰¹ “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, p. 581.

¹⁰² “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, pp. 582–586. Subjects of the duke served as rector or vicerelector in 1552, 1556, 1560, 1562, 1565, 1566, 1570, 1573, 1574, 1577, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1587, 1588, 1595, 1597, 1604, 1607, 1608, and 1609, see Fabroni, *Historia*, Vol. 2, pp. 59–61.

¹⁰³ Rectors served from 1590 to 1594, in 1595/96, from 1600 to 1604, and from 1606 to 1609, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 343.

which decided that only by having a rector could the Studio flourish again, attracting new waves of foreign students, who were known to avoid universities where traditional privileges were not granted. Despite opposition from the governor, the Balìa's proposal could not be stopped. In 1590, presumably inspired by the Balìa's initiative, the student-university asked the grand duke for the authority to elect annually its own rector together with certain privileges. Ferdinando welcomed the request with the caveat that nothing should be done which would limit the authority of the *camarlingo* of the Sapienza. This meant that he forbade the 1542 provision that the rector would have disciplinary powers over the students of the Sapienza. The request and the grand ducal approval were published on 15 June 1590. A commission composed of students, members of the Balìa, and the new governor, Mauro di Colloredo, discussed new regulations regarding the rectorate and the reform was published, with Ferdinando's approval, on 20 April 1590. In the meantime, on the basis of the decision of June 1590, Giovan Battista Porro da Milano had been elected rector on 8 November 1590. Thus the rectorate was revived after a gap of almost fifty years. Such was the significance of the event, that Porro's name and title were inscribed in the *libri di leoni*, which recorded the members of the senior government offices.¹⁰⁴

The 1591 reform outlined the election of the rector at Siena in detail. The qualifications for office were similar to those at Pisa. He should be a foreigner and come from a location as far as possible from Siena. Only if there were no foreign candidates should Sienese candidates be considered. Every candidate had to be born of a legitimate marriage, he had to be at least twenty-two years old, and he had to have studied at a university for at least three years. Since he had to be a student, he could not take his doctorate before leaving office. The election process itself was even more complicated than that at Pisa. Every May, following the election of the new *consiglieri* of the student-university, the serving rector and the new *consiglieri* were to draw up a list of four candidates for the rectorate for the following year. On the basis of this list, an election would be held in the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo della Signoria in June. The electors would comprise forty-four students, twenty-four communal officials and magistrates, and three doctors. The forty-four students were to include the serving rector, the

¹⁰⁴ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 110–113.

nine consiglieri, the camarlingo, and thirty-three other members, of whom six were to be chosen by the rector and the other twenty-seven by the consiglieri. The twenty-four communal officials and magistrates were to include the governor (or his representative), all sixteen members of the Concistoro, five of the twenty members of the Balìa (the prior of the College and the deputati sopra lo studio); and the two senior judges (the capitano di giustizia and the podestà del tribunale della rota). If the selected candidate refused to take up his office, new elections would be held. The rector was to take office immediately after his election or at the latest on the first day of the academic year. His taking office would be accompanied by solemn ceremonies as well as lively celebrations. All this was to last a month, at the same time that lectures were being held. The ceremonies would involve many of the leading professors and other nobles as well as students. If there were no candidates for the rectorate, a vicerector was to be elected with the same privileges but at a lower salary.¹⁰⁵

Both in Pisa and Siena the rector was expected to live in a style befitting his office. At Pisa he had to have a house which included a room where he was to dispense justice. He was to wear magnificent clothes and be accompanied by at least two servants paid at his expense. He was to help fund feasts and games for the professors and the students, including a meal when he took office.¹⁰⁶ The rector at Siena had to wear a gown and cap like the professors and he also had to employ two servants.¹⁰⁷ But there were financial compensations. In both Pisa and Siena the rectors received salaries as well as other benefits including a share of the money paid by doctorands. They could also graduate gratis.¹⁰⁸

In carrying out their duties, the rectors were assisted by a college of consiglieri. In Pisa each of these was to be elected by the appropriate nation, with two coming from the Tuscan nation which was by far the

¹⁰⁵ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 113–115, 285–287. Between 1590 and 1596 there were five rectors, all of them foreigners: Giovan Battista Porro da Milano; Alamanno Sforzalini da Gubbio; the German Giorgio Fuccaro; Giovanni Antonio Verasio da Asti; and Paolo Gelusio da Spoleto, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 124, 343. However, subjects of the duke served from 1600 to 1604 and from 1606 to 1609, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 343. For the rituals associated with the election of the rector, see Chapter Five.

¹⁰⁶ “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, pp. 586–589.

¹⁰⁷ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 115–116, 288–289.

¹⁰⁸ “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, p. 590; Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 289.

largest. A consigliere had to be at least eighteen years old and to have attended a university for at least three years. The consiglieri could include members of the Collegio Ducale or Sapienza, which had been established by Cosimo in February 1543. The consiglieri could hear appeals against the sentences of the rector in civil cases; appeals in criminal cases could only be heard by the duke. The consiglieri could also call meetings of the whole student-university.¹⁰⁹ As under the republic, there continued to be nine consiglieri in Siena, of whom three were to be foreigners outside the Sapienza, three foreigners who were members of the Sapienza, and three students from Siena or Sienese territory. Each of these groups had to include a student of canon law, a student of civil law, and a students of arts. They were to be elected each May by the entire student-university (in the presence of the prior of the Balìa and the deputati sopra lo studio) from a list of candidates produced by the rector and the outgoing consiglieri. Those seeking office had to meet the same criteria as candidates for the rectorate. The consiglieri assisted the rector in his judicial functions, they helped him to produce plans to develop the Studio, and they participated in every audience which he held. They could not leave Siena without the rector's permission.¹¹⁰

As we have seen, Cosimo believed that the 1545 statutes were an important factor in attracting scholars to Pisa.¹¹¹ These statutes gave unprecedented power to the rector. He had both civil and criminal jurisdiction over all professors, students, and their servants as well as the notary and beadles of the student-university and all producers and sellers of books in both the city and the district of Pisa.¹¹² Until 1626 the rector alone tried all civil cases.¹¹³ If a plaintiff wished to dispute

¹⁰⁹ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 596–597, 599–600, 602–604. For the Sapienza, see Fascione Toniolo, "Aspetti di politica culturale," 61–86.

¹¹⁰ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 118–120, 291–292.

¹¹¹ See n. 84.

¹¹² For the rector and civil cases, see "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 591–598; ASP, primo deposito, 1445–1465. For the rector and criminal cases, see "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 635–641; ASP, primo deposito, 1794–1798. For those who were subject to the rector, see "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 587–588. The district of Pisa included Lari, Peccioli, Vicopisano, Cascina, Pontedera, and Ripafratta, see Niccola Carranza, "Il Tribunale dello Studio Pisano dopo la riforma del 1544," *Giustizia e Società* 1–11 (1964): 63–73 (p. 67 n. 38). There was a longrunning debate as to whether landladies should come under the jurisdiction of the rector or of the Onestà, since some of them were prostitutes, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 43r, 17 July 1575; fol. 56v, 1 Aug. 1577; fol. 74r 22 July 1584; fols. 102r–102v, 1602.

¹¹³ Carranza, "Il Tribunale," p. 70.

the sentence of the rector in these cases, he had to gain the approval of the consiglieri before the sentence could be examined by two members of the college of legists who were chosen by sortition.¹¹⁴ In the most serious criminal cases which involved the effusion of blood, the rector had to be joined by the commissario of Pisa for the investigation (which could include torture), the trial, and the sentencing.¹¹⁵ In consultation with the commissario and the grand duke, the rector could and did pass the death penalty.¹¹⁶ The jurisdiction of the Tribunale dello Studio had to be respected by all other courts, including the Magistrato Supremo,¹¹⁷ and the rector was regularly ready to assert his authority against such magistracies as the Otto di Guardia,¹¹⁸ the vicar of Vicopisano,¹¹⁹ the conservatori di leggi,¹²⁰ the vicar of Pisa,¹²¹ the bargello of Pisa,¹²² the Mercanzia,¹²³ the vicar of Lari,¹²⁴ the commissario of Pisa,¹²⁵ the nove conservatori del dominio fiorentino,¹²⁶ and the vicar of Pescia.¹²⁷ In 1580 he even challenged the Accademia fiorentina regarding jurisdiction over booksellers in Pisa.¹²⁸ Backed by the grand dukes, the Tribunale

¹¹⁴ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, p. 596.

¹¹⁵ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, p. 635.

¹¹⁶ Carranza, "Il Tribunale," pp. 68–69. For the rector's sentences in criminal trials between 1546 and 1609, see the extensive records in ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 1794–1798. These records will be analysed in my forthcoming monograph, *Violence in Early Modern Italy: the Academic Environment*.

¹¹⁷ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 587–588; Carranza, "Il Tribunale," pp. 68–69.

¹¹⁸ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 18v–19r, 2 Apr. 1552; ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 19r, 16 Feb. 1571; fol. 19r, 17 Mar. 1571; fol. 19v, 9 Mar. 1571; fol. 19v, 22 Mar. 1571; fol. 37v, 16 Dec. 1574; fol. 38v, 3 Feb. 1575.

¹¹⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 35v 15 Dec. 1565; ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 28r, 5 Feb. 1573; fol. 33r, 2 Jan. 1574.

¹²⁰ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 4r, 26 Feb. 1569.

¹²¹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 6v, 10 Sept. 1569; fol. 67r 2 Oct. 1581; fol. 86v, 4 June 1590.

¹²² ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 8r, 6 Jan. 1570; fol. 16r, 10 Aug. 1570; fol. 54r, 14 Feb. 1577; fol. 54r, 7 Mar. 1577; fol. 54v 13 Mar. 1577.

¹²³ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 9v, 25 May 1570; fol. 64r, 17 Nov. 1580; fols. 71r–71v, 13 Sept. 1583; fol. 71v, 27 Sept. 1583; fols. 71v–72r, 31 Aug. 1583.

¹²⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 14v–15r, 21 July 1570; fol. 34v, 14 Oct. 1574; fol. 35r, 25 Oct. 1574; fol. 37v, 23 Dec. 1574; fols. 57v–58r, Nov. 1577.

¹²⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 33r, 2 Jan. 1573; fols. 49r–49v, 20 June 1576; fols. 52r–52v, 6 Oct. 1576; fols. 93v–94r, 26 June 1595; fol. 98v, 15 Apr. 1598; fol. 98v, 18 Apr. 1598; fols. 98v–99r, 26 Apr. 1598; fols. 99v–100r, 7 Mar. 1599.

¹²⁶ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 51r, 8 Aug. 1576.

¹²⁷ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 100r, 16 Jan. 1600.

¹²⁸ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 63r, 9 Apr. 1580.

dello Studio continued to exercise its wideranging powers until the early nineteenth century.¹²⁹

The fulfilment of his judicial duties put the rector of the Studio pisano in contact with law officers across the Italian peninsula. For example, in 1564 he wrote to the podestà of Ferrara when Domenico de' Grassi, a Ferrarese servant of Camillo Plauzio, an eminent professor of civil law, fled Pisa having stolen 21 ducats, a jacket, a sword with a velvet scabbard, and a felt hat with a black silk string. Since de' Grassi had brothers in Ferrara, the rector asked the podestà to inform him if he had news.¹³⁰ From the 1580s the rector also asked foreign judges to help enforce truces which he had arranged between quarrelsome professors and students.¹³¹

Like rectors at other Italian universities, the rector of the Studio senese could not compete with the authority of the rector of the Studio pisano in criminal cases. However, the 1591 reform of the Studio senese gave the rector much wider powers than those approved under the republic. He had jurisdiction over not only foreign and Sienese students but also over the professors and everyone who was closely connected to the Studio, including the notary, the beadle, booksellers, and landlords. All of these people were forbidden from going to other courts. The rector had jurisdiction in all civil cases involving students as plaintiffs or defendants regardless of the subject or value of the case. The Concistoro would judge appeals. In criminal cases the rector could only judge those which were located in Siena or its territory and which were punishable by fines. The governor would judge appeals. Crimes which were punishable by corporal punishment (including execution) were to be judged by the capitano di giustizia and the governor, without whose involvement and consent sentences could not be passed.¹³² The 1591 reform did not limit in any way the privileges which had been granted in the past, in particular those awarded to the German nation, which continued to come under the jurisdiction of its consigliere.¹³³

¹²⁹ Carranza, "Il Tribunale," pp. 63, 68, 70–73; "Il crepuscolo del Tribunale dello Studio pisano 1737–1808: la vicenda conclusiva di un'istituzione giurisdizionale. Documenti e provvedimenti riguardanti il Tribunale dello Studio Pisano in età lorenese: materiale di testimonianza e di analisi," ed. Chiara Galligani, <http://www.idr.unipi.it/iura-communia/galligani.htm>, accessed 21 Jan. 2008.

¹³⁰ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 27v–28r, 18 May 1565.

¹³¹ See Chapter Six.

¹³² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 116–117, 289–290.

¹³³ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 111, 120, 304–305.

The judicial authority of the rector in Siena also faced more significant challenges than that of his counterpart in Pisa. In 1593 the capitano di giustizia arrested a Siense student accused of provoking a fight. This should have gone before the rector's court but the capitano wanted to handle the case. If this had been accepted, the rector would have lost his jurisdiction over native students.¹³⁴ It is unsurprising, therefore, that rector Giorgio Fuccaro sought recognition of privileges which had already been granted as well as the awarding of new rights. As for these, he wished the rector, together with the capitano di giustizia, to judge cases involving the effusion of blood. Ferdinando partially granted this request. For cases involving the capitano di giustizia, the rector could intervene in the sentencing but not in the earlier stages of the trial. The governor was to adjudicate if there were disputes between the rector and the capitano with regard to the sentencing. Fuccaro also asked for judges to respect the rector's jurisdiction in civil cases. Ferdinando said that this privilege was to be respected without violation and ordered the governor to punish severely those officials who contravened this in any way.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, the jurisdiction of the rector continued to decline and in 1602 he lost his disciplinary powers over the members of the Sapienza.¹³⁶

Being subject to the jurisdiction of the rector was not the only privilege which the grand dukes gave to students. As a mark of status as well as a practical necessity in a violent society, the right to bear arms was perhaps the most prized of these privileges.¹³⁷ Exemption from paying gabelles on their baggage was also important. At Pisa the 1545 statutes gave this dispensation to both professors and students but in Siena the 1591 reform granted it only to students.¹³⁸ To defend the privilege, the rector at Pisa had to appeal to the grand duke.¹³⁹ The Medici also had to intervene in Siena.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 134–135, 314–315.

¹³⁵ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 133–134, 311, 313.

¹³⁶ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 131.

¹³⁷ See Chapter Six.

¹³⁸ “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, p. 630; Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 292.

¹³⁹ In 1568 the rector wrote to Francesco as regent since professors and students were being asked to pay the estimo, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 2v, 24 Nov. 1568. When the rector reminded Cosimo of the exemption from paying the gabelle in 1572, the auditore wrote to the provveditore della dogana in Pisa telling him to observe the privilege, see, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 25v–26r, 18 July 1572. In 1580 the rector asked Francesco to intervene when the Senato annulled exemptions, see, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 65r, 15 Mar. 1580.

¹⁴⁰ When rector Giorgio Fuccaro asked Ferdinando for further reforms of the

The rectors were given significant roles in the supervision of teaching. At Pisa the rector was expected to ensure professors taught their lessons regularly and to resolve the difficulties which could arise from disputations. He had the authority to alter the times of lectures and the teaching programme and to approve extraordinary vacations.¹⁴¹ The rector of the Studio senese was to be present at disputations whenever possible. At least twice a year he had to attend the lectures given by each professor. He could also attend the concorsi for teaching positions, though he did not have a vote.¹⁴²

The teaching of anatomy at Pisa involved the rector closely from the end of the sixteenth century. Although the heyday had long passed when Andreas Vesalius, Realdo Colombo, and Gabriele Falloppia had taught there, the Studio pisano continued to employ a professor of anatomy.¹⁴³ In 1581 the rector wrote to the Otto di Guardia in Florence asking for the corpses of male or female criminals. As the Otto said it had no authority to give bodies, the rector wrote to Francesco, who replied that they would be sent as and when they became available. Thereafter the rector made a request to the Otto every year.¹⁴⁴ Often there were no suitable corpses and in 1591 the rector was forced to ask for "the broken thighs and legs of evildoers".¹⁴⁵ But occasionally the Otto did provide a male or female body.¹⁴⁶

The rectors in Pisa and Siena also came into contact with the professors through their right to attend doctoral examinations.¹⁴⁷ Inevitably this led to conflicts with the colleges of doctors which conducted the

Studio senese in 1593, he requested that Siennese magistrates be ordered to respect the students' exemption from gabelles as it was being defined too strictly at the expense of the students. Ferdinando replied that this privilege was to be respected without violation and he ordered the governor to punish severely those officials who contravened this in any way, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 133–134, 311, 313.

¹⁴¹ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 589, 614–618. For the rector and the publication of vacations, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 48v, 29 Feb. 1574; fol. 55r, 20 May 1577; fols. 87v–88r, 8 June 1591; fol. 89v, 20 Aug. 1592.

¹⁴² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 117–118.

¹⁴³ For the teaching of anatomy in Pisa, see nn. 51 and 76; Appendix V; Fabroni, *Historiae*, Vol. 2, pp. 71–85; Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 148–149, 151 n. 54; Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 339.

¹⁴⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 72r–103v.

¹⁴⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 90r, 9 Dec. 1591.

¹⁴⁶ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 75r, 4 Jan. 1585; fol. 82r, 1 Feb. 1588; fol. 97v, 22 Nov. 1597; fol. 100r, 18 Dec. 1599; fol. 103v, 18 Jan. 1603. The letters of 1597, 1599, and 1603 regard female bodies.

¹⁴⁷ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, p. 625; Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 117–118, 290–291.

examinations. These conflicts were part of wider tensions between the rectors and the professors, the third structure of academic power.¹⁴⁸ But before we can understand the tensions, we need to examine their organisation and strength.

THE PROFESSORS

As at other Italian universities, the teaching bodies at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese were divided into three faculties: theology, law (canon and civil), and arts (philosophy and medicine).¹⁴⁹ The range of subjects and texts taught within the faculties varied from year to year. However, it may be useful to compare the subjects which are known to have been taught at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese.¹⁵⁰ Within the faculties of theology at both Pisa and Siena, professors were appointed to teach theology (unspecified), sacred scripture, and metaphysics.¹⁵¹ The faculties of law included professors of canon law, civil law, the *Institutes*, and the *Pandects*.¹⁵² Professors of medicine taught medicine (unspecified), *medicina teorica* (the study of physiology and the general principles of medicine), *medicina practica* (the study and remedy of specific diseases), surgery (the study and remedy of external diseases), anatomy, and simples (medical botany).¹⁵³ The arts curriculum

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter Four.

¹⁴⁹ For teaching at Italian universities, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 199–473.

¹⁵⁰ The following discussion of teaching at Pisa and Siena is based on Appendices V and VI; “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, pp. 615–616; Marrara, “L’età medicea,” pp. 128–134; Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 160–161.

¹⁵¹ For the teaching of theology at Pisa, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 356, 364–366, 376. For the teaching of theology at Siena, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 380–81. For the teaching of theology in Italian universities generally, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 353–392.

¹⁵² For the teaching of law at Pisa, see Enrico Spagnesi, “Il diritto,” in *Storia dell’Università di Pisa*, 1, part 1 (Pisa, 1993), pp. 191–257; Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 466–469. For the teaching of law at Siena, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 464–465. For the teaching of law in Italian universities generally, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 430–473.

¹⁵³ For the teaching of medicine at Pisa, see Manlio Iofrida, “La filosofia e la medicina (1543–1737),” in *Storia dell’Università di Pisa*, 1, part 1 (Pisa, 1993), pp. 289–338; Fabio Gabari and Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, “Il giardino dei semplici,” in *Storia dell’Università di Pisa*, 1, part 1 (Pisa, 1993), pp. 363–373; Fabio Gabari, Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, and Alessandro Tosi, *Giardino dei Semplici. L’Orto botanico di Pisa dal XVI al XX secolo* (Pisa, 1991); Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 346. For the teaching of medicine at Siena, see Gabriella Piccini, “Tra scienza ed arti: Lo Studio di Siena e l’insegnamento della medicina (secoli XIII–XVI),” in *L’Università di Siena di Siena—750 anni di storia* (Siena,

at Pisa and Siena included philosophy (unspecified), logic, the *studia humanitatis*, and mathematics.¹⁵⁴ But there were differences between the subjects taught at Pisa and Siena. Unlike the Studio senese, the Studio pisano had chairs in positive theology, Hebrew, criminal law, feudal law, Platonic philosophy, and astrology. However, with the establishment of the chair of Tuscan in 1588, Siena could claim the first vernacular language professorship in Europe.¹⁵⁵

The fullest records of appointment and the most detailed records of payment specify the time when the professor was to deliver his lectures. Lectures on the principal subjects were usually given in the morning (*della mattina*) and in the evening (*della sera*) while the lectures on the secondary subjects were usually given in the early afternoon, in the late afternoon, or on feast days (*giorni festivi*).¹⁵⁶ The variety of these classifications increased with the size of the teaching body and sometimes further distinctions were made with the lectures being described as 'ordinary' or 'extraordinary.' As the teaching rolls indicate, these categories marked a clear hierarchy in the teaching staff of each faculty. 'Ordinary' lectures were given by the senior and higher paid members of the faculty while 'extraordinary' lectures were delivered by the junior and lower paid members of the faculty. The teaching rolls and other sources also imply that many of the 'extraordinary' lectures were delivered by students.¹⁵⁷

1991), pp. 145–158. For the teaching of medicine at Italian universities generally, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 314–352.

¹⁵⁴ For the teaching of arts at Pisa, see Charles B. Schmitt, "The Faculty of Arts at Pisa at the time of Galileo," in Charles B. Schmitt, *Studies in Renaissance Philosophy and Science* (London, 1981), study 9; Iofrida, "La filosofia," pp. 289–338; Carlo Maccagni, "La matematica," in *Storia dell'Università di Pisa*, 1, part 1 (Pisa, 1993), pp. 339–362; Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 232, 240, 412, 423. For the teaching of arts at Siena, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 54, 256, 425. For the teaching of arts at Italian universities generally, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 199–313.

¹⁵⁵ The chair in Tuscan was created following a request from the German nation, which wanted to learn the vernacular. It was hoped that the chair would attract non-Italian students to move to Siena from Bologna and Padua. See Pietro Rossi, *La prima cattedra di "lingua Toscana" (Dai Ruoli dello Studio Senese 1588–1743)* (Turin, 1910) and Nicoletta Maraschio and Teresa Poggi Salani, "L'insegnamento della lingua toscana," in *L'Università di Siena di Siena—750 anni di storia* (Siena, 1991), pp. 241–254.

¹⁵⁶ Both the 1545 statutes of the Studio pisano and the 1589 reform of the Studio senese stress the timing of lectures, see "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, p. 614; Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 162–163. For the time of lectures, see also Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 144–147.

¹⁵⁷ Appendices V and VI; "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 614–616; Marrara, "L'età medica," pp. 128–34; Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 160–161. All Siennese citizens who had graduated and enrolled in the relevant college of law or arts

Like the students, the professors at both the Studio pisano and the Studio senese came under the jurisdiction of the rectors.¹⁵⁸ However, there were differences in the privileges which the professors enjoyed. At Pisa the 1545 statutes exempted students and professors from the payment of gabelles but in Siena the 1591 reform granted it only to students.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, in 1562 Cosimo allowed professors and students at the Studio pisano to bear arms outside Pisa.¹⁶⁰ No similar privilege was granted to the professors at the Studio senese. In Pisa there was also a tradition of granting doctorates gratis to the sons of teaching professors. However, this issue divided the college of legists in 1570 and Cosimo had to intervene.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, professors in Siena did have some benefits which were not shared by their counterparts in Pisa. For example, in 1576 a custom developed whereby professors were promoted to the chair immediately superior when it fell vacant.¹⁶² Furthermore, professors who taught at Siena for at least thirty years were entitled to a pension of half their salary. This regulation was little enforced though it was enacted in 1596 for Achille Santi.¹⁶³

The only groups at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese to which professors could belong were the colleges of doctors. It has recently been argued that,

In the Italian system, colleges were powerful bodies, of considerable significance for both *studio* and town. The key to their importance within the *studio* lies in their power to award degrees—power with which they emerge in Bologna by the end of the thirteenth century, as a clear counterweight to the collective bargaining power claimed by the students. As degree awarders, colleges controlled the transmission of expertise and knowledge. But they also played a critical role for the town, since from their earliest days they also acted as focal points for expertise on which it could draw.¹⁶⁴

had the right to hold lectures on the *Institutes* or on logic for one academic year with a salary of 25 florins. In 1593 the rector asked Ferdinando to extend the period to longer than one year. The grand duke's response was evasive, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 34, 297, 312, 314. For the hierarchy of chairs, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 144–147.

¹⁵⁸ See nn. 112 and 132.

¹⁵⁹ See n. 138.

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter Six.

¹⁶¹ See Chapter Four.

¹⁶² Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 56–57, 93–94, 134, 145. The custom ended with the reform of 1589.

¹⁶³ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 37–38.

¹⁶⁴ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 196. For the development and significance of the

But can this argument be applied to the Studio pisano and the Studio senese?

Both at Pisa and Siena there were colleges of legists, artists (or philosophers and medics), and theologians. However, as at other Italian universities, the colleges of theologians were 'semi-detached' from the Studio pisano and the Studio senese.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, discussion of the colleges of doctors at Siena between 1557 and 1609 is limited by the loss of many of their records for this period. For the college of legists, there are only a 1566 edition of the statutes, which includes material from the fifteenth century, and memoirs covering the years 1572 to 1576.¹⁶⁶ Statutes of the college of artists date from 1511 and 1611.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the statutes of the college of theologians were written in the early fifteenth century.¹⁶⁸ We are rather better informed about the situation in Pisa from 1543 to 1609, especially for the college of legists and its failed projects for statutory reform in 1558 and 1583.¹⁶⁹ But in order to establish the membership of the colleges, it is necessary to turn to other sources. Using the records of doctoral examinations, it has been possible to recreate the membership of the colleges of doctors in Pisa from 1543 to 1609 and in Siena from 1557 to 1579.¹⁷⁰

According to the 1545 statutes, all of the teaching professors at Pisa were to belong to the colleges and only those who taught were to be members.¹⁷¹ This differed from the 1480 statutes of the college

colleges of doctors, see also Jonathan Davies, "Elites and Examiners at Italian Universities during the Late Middle Ages," *Medieval Prosopography* 21 (2001): 191–209 and Elena Brambilla, *Genealogie del sapere. Università, professioni giuridiche e nobiltà togata in Italia (XIII–XVII secolo)* (Milan, 2005).

¹⁶⁵ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 206. Although some Italian universities provided a limited amount of teaching in theology, most was conducted in convents, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 353–392.

¹⁶⁶ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 135. For the 1566 statutes, see ASS, Studio 40, fols. 7r–31v. They are discussed in Denley, *Commune and Studio*, pp. 200–201.

¹⁶⁷ For the 1511 statutes, see ASS, Balìa 253, fols. 335v–345v. They are discussed in Antonia Whitley, "Concepts of Ill health and Pestilence in Fifteenth-Century Siena," (Ph.D. diss., Warburg Institute, University of London, 2005), Appendix VI.2, pp. 388–390. For the 1611 statutes, see ASS, Studio, 43–46. Some memoirs of the college and deliberations of the protomedico also survive from the sixteenth century, see ASS, Studio 43–46.

¹⁶⁸ These are published and discussed in Luciano Bertoni, "Il 'Collegio' dei teologi dell'Università di Siena e i suoi statuti del 1434," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 21 (1968): 1–56. There are deliberations of the college from 1472 to 1581, see Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, A.XI.1.

¹⁶⁹ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, passim.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendices II and III.

¹⁷¹ Marrara, "Gli statuti," pp. 622–623.

of legists which permitted teaching and non-teaching members. But in practice the grand duke regularly approved admission of men who did not teach at the Studio. The most prominent of these non-teaching members was the provveditore dello studio who from 1575 belonged to the college *ex officio*.¹⁷² One should not exaggerate the significance of grand ducal interference with the most basic privilege of a college, the right to determine its own membership. Similar interventions by government had taken place at other Italian universities in the fifteenth century.¹⁷³ It appears that there were about twenty members of the college of legists.¹⁷⁴ In 1572 auditore Lelio Torelli wrote a letter to the college, disapproving of the doctoral candidate being able to chose an excessive number of promotori to present him for examination. Normally there were between five and ten but this could rise to fourteen or fifteen, making it difficult to find enough members of the college to examine the candidate.¹⁷⁵ Although membership of the colleges at Pisa could last for several decades, it seems that most men belonged for shorter periods.¹⁷⁶

It is hard to gauge the size of the colleges in Siena. The 1566 statutes of the college of legists stipulates that there should be twelve members. As many as nineteen other men could be members *in supernumerarium*. However, the manuscript makes clear that this clause dates from the early fifteenth century. Matters are further complicated by the tradition of Sienese citizens with doctorates claiming membership.¹⁷⁷ According to the 1511 statutes of the college of artists, only Sienese citizens could

¹⁷² ASP, UDP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 41r–41v, 6 July 1575; Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 44–45.

¹⁷³ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 207.

¹⁷⁴ Eighteen members attended a meeting in 1572, see Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, p. 150.

¹⁷⁵ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 51–52, 151–153.

¹⁷⁶ Of the 159 known members of the college of legists at Pisa between 1543 and 1609, 118 (74%) are known to have served for less than ten years, 20 (13%) for between ten and nineteen years, 7 (4%) for between twenty and twenty-nine years, 8 (5%) for between thirty and thirty-nine years, and 6 (4%) for between forty and forty-nine years. Of the 95 known members of the college of artists at Pisa between 1543 and 1609, 63 (66%) are known to have served for less than ten years, 11 (12%) for between ten and nineteen years, 12 (13%) for between twenty and twenty-nine years, 8 (8%) for between thirty and thirty-nine years, and 1 (1%) for between forty and forty-nine years. Of the 40 known members of the college of theologians, 24 (60%) are known to have served for less than ten years, 10 (25%) for between ten and nineteen years, 2 (5%) for between twenty and twenty-nine years, and 4 (10%) for between thirty and thirty-nine years. This analysis is based on Appendix II.

¹⁷⁷ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, pp. 201–203.

be full members.¹⁷⁸ But, as at the Studio pisano, most men's service in the colleges at the Studio senese was for less than ten years.¹⁷⁹

The colleges were led by priors.¹⁸⁰ Until 1557, the prior of the college of legists at Pisa served a three-month term of office. Thereafter, he was elected on the last day of each month. During vacations names would be chosen until one was found who was present in the city.¹⁸¹ Meanwhile the college of artists in Siena was headed by a prior who served for four months.¹⁸²

The main role of the colleges was the examination of doctorands.¹⁸³ However, they also performed a series of other functions. As noted, sentences in civil cases passed by the rector at Pisa could be referred to members of the college of legists and this became part of a serious confrontation between the rector and the college in 1575.¹⁸⁴ As at other Italian universities, the colleges were occasionally called upon to give advice to rulers. For example, the college of legists at Pisa counselled not only the grand duke but also the cardinal of Trent, the king of Spain, and the emperor.¹⁸⁵ The Florentine guild of physicians and apothecaries asked the college of artists in Pisa to help revise its receipt book.¹⁸⁶ Both in Pisa and Siena, the colleges of artists provided the protomedico, the senior physician responsible for overseeing the medical profession.¹⁸⁷ The colleges could also act as lobby groups. In 1570 the Pisan college of legists wrote to Francesco requesting a printing press for the advantage and reputation of the Studio and explaining how it could be paid for. In 1578 the college of legists in Siena asked Francesco

¹⁷⁸ ASS, Balìa 253, fols. 341v–342r.

¹⁷⁹ Of the 70 known members of the college of legists at Siena between 1557 and 1579, 51 (73%) are known to have served for less than ten years, 15 (21%) for between ten and nineteen years, and 4 (6%) for at least twenty years. Of the 28 known members of the college of artists at Siena between 1557 and 1579, 15 (54%) are known to have served for less than ten years, and 13 (46%) for between ten and nineteen years. Of the 23 known members of the college of theologians at Siena between 1557 and 1579, 20 (87%) known to have served for less than ten years and 3 (13%) for between ten and nineteen years. This analysis is based on Appendix III.

¹⁸⁰ Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 20, 89, 106, 132–133.

¹⁸¹ Rossi, *Il Collegio*, pp. 33, 78–79, 141–142.

¹⁸² ASS, Balìa 253, fols. 337r.

¹⁸³ For the examination processes at Pisa and Siena, see Chapter Five.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter Four.

¹⁸⁵ Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, p. 133.

¹⁸⁶ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 22r, 5 Apr. 1554.

¹⁸⁷ Alcide Garosi, "I protomedici del Collegio di Siena dal 1562 al 1808," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 9 (1938): 173–181; Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, p. 133.

for an increase in the salaries of professors.¹⁸⁸ The importance of the colleges was recognised formally. In 1565 the duke's advisory council, the *Pratica Secreta*, intervened in a dispute over precedence between the colleges and the sea consuls, the *consoli del mare*. It declared that the colleges and their priors were second only to the most senior civic officials of Pisa, the *antiani* and their provost.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 93.

¹⁸⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 29r, 17 Oct. 1565.

CHAPTER FOUR

TENSIONS WITHIN THE STRUCTURES OF ACADEMIC POWER

Under the grand dukes, power at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese was distributed between the three main structures: the administrators (including the grand dukes); the students; and the professors. Unsurprisingly this led to numerous tensions, particularly over issues such as appointments, salaries, teaching, examinations, status, Protestantism, and protectionism. But these were not simple conflicts between a centralising government and peripheral institutions determined to protect their privileges. As disputes arose, the administrators (including the grand dukes) would sometimes side with the students whilst at other times they would favour the professors. Occasionally the administrators disagreed with each other, as the students and professors could also be divided amongst themselves.

APPOINTMENTS

With regard to appointments, the Studio senese was the focus of tension. Since the early fifteenth century the hiring of professors in Siena had been entangled in the city's factional politics. This was exacerbated by the significant number of professors who were active members of the Sienese political elite, the *riseduti*.¹ The close ties between the professoriate and the ruling class continued after the Medici took control of the city in 1557. Of all the Sienese who taught law between 1589 and 1609, only one, Adriano Guasti, did not come from a leading family. However, this anomaly was remedied by making him a *riseduto*. Amongst those Sienese teaching arts, the *riseduti* were also in the majority. Again there were co-options such as Lorenzo Billò, who taught logic, and Girolamo Minetti, who taught anatomy.² Inevitably

¹ For professors and factions in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Denley, *Commune and Studio*, pp. 219–223.

² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 41–42.

these connections could have an impact on appointments. For example, in 1565 the governor of Siena reported that the Studio had been so seriously disturbed by factionalism that negotiations with professors had had to be conducted in secret.³

The influence of the factions was revealed again following the 1589 reform of the Studio senese which brought a major overhaul of the appointment system. The reform was intended to bring much needed organisation to the Studio, following the piecemeal approach of Cosimo and Francesco.⁴ The Balìa had repeatedly sent supplications to Florence asking for the restructuring of the Studio and the increase of professors' salaries.⁵ But it was not until 8 August 1589 that Ferdinando appointed a commission to produce a plan.⁶ Within a month, the commission submitted its proposal to the governor, Giulio Del Caccia, who forwarded it to the grand duke together with his comments.⁷ Once Ferdinando had consulted with the *auditore dello studio pisano*, Giovan Battista Concini, and received further details from Del Caccia, the reform was published by the Balìa on 8 October.⁸

Under the terms of the reform, appointments to most chairs were to be decided by competitions (*concorsi*) in the form of public disputations. Those aspiring to a position had to apply to the grand duke asking to be included in the *concorso*. The choice, based on the results of the *concorso*, would be made by the grand duke. In order to be eligible, candidates for chairs of law had to meet fixed requirements: for ordinary chairs, they had to have had an extraordinary chair in canon or civil law or the *Institutes*; for extraordinary chairs, candidates had to have had a doctorate for at least four years. The *concorsi* for the chairs in law were to be conducted by a commission which included the *capitano di giustizia*, the judges of the *rota*, the *giudice ordinario*, and the prior of the Balìa. For chairs in arts, the disputations were to be held in the presence of the ordinary chairs of philosophy, the archbishop,

³ Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, p. 22.

⁴ For the policies of Cosimo and Francesco towards the Studio senese, see Chapter Three.

⁵ See Chapter Three, n. 38.

⁶ The commission consisted of the *deputati di Balìa* and the *capitano di giustizia*, Lorenzo Usimbardi, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 8, 167–168.

⁷ For the text of the proposal and Del Caccia's comments, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 168–170.

⁸ For the texts of this correspondence, since Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 170–174.

the senior theologian of the cathedral, and the prior of the college of artists. For chairs in medicine, candidates had to dispute before the ordinary chairs of *teorica* and the *protomedico*. At all the disputations the governor was to be present along with the other magistrates and civic and religious authorities of the city. Of the seventeen chairs in law, sixteen chairs in arts and medicine, and one chair in theology, the reform stated that only the first chair in *teorica* and the first chair in *practica* would be subject to grand ducal selection. These were the so-called chairs ‘*di grazia*’.⁹

The revolutionary nature of these changes cannot be overemphasised; Siena was the first Italian university to introduce such an arrangement and it would not be imitated until Naples followed suit in 1614.¹⁰ The *Balia* hoped this courageous experiment would guarantee better professors at the *Studio*, capable of competing with those of the *Studio pisano*, where there were higher and more secure stipends.¹¹ But in fact the proposal had caused divisions before it was approved and, once enacted, the reform was so undermined by the professors, the governor, and the grand duke that the *concorsi* waned slowly until they were finally suppressed in 1609.

In the letter of 13 September 1589 which enclosed details of the proposed reform, Del Caccia had made some observations as to its practicality. He was highly critical of appointing professors by public competition. Whilst this would benefit the students and the *Studio*, he thought it would be difficult to find suitable examiners to assign the chairs, particularly for philosophy and medicine. Also, the older professors would not relish being judged alongside younger men. He noted that there were already mutterings about this and, rather than strengthen the *Studio*, it would weaken it. Moreover, if there were to be competitions, these would attract foreign professors which in turn would undermine the *Studio pisano*. This would be absurd since, in Del Caccia’s view, the main purpose of the *Studio senese* was to educate the young men of the city and state of Siena who wished to study rather than work in commerce. Finally, he thought it would be necessary to

⁹ For the text of the reform and a discussion of how it was to work, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 51–52, 82–83, 159–166.

¹⁰ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 8; Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 53.

¹¹ Catoni, “Le riforme,” p. 51. For a comparison of salaries at the *Studio pisano* and the *Studio senese*, see Chapter Three.

limit the number of disputations. Given these doubts, Del Caccia only approved the proposal to avoid delay in preparing the teaching roll.¹²

In his response to Ferdinando's request for advice, Giovan Battista Concini refused to comment on some aspects of the reform proposal since he had little knowledge of Sienese practices and was ignorant of the statutes of the Studio senese. Nevertheless, he shared some of Del Caccia's misgivings, believing that the plan had been produced by men with little experience of the Studio. Concini agreed about the futility of concorsi, arguing that these would lead to tensions between the winners and the losers. He thought the outcome of competitions would be uncertain and that the victors would not necessarily be the best candidates since some men, although very able, did not know how to dispute. They would be beaten by candidates who were less talented but more effective disputers, with better memories and who could think on their feet. In sum, Concini maintained that the choice of professors should lie exclusively with the grand duke.¹³

As Del Caccia predicted, the professors strongly resisted the introduction of competitions which exposed them to the risk of failure and humiliation. Their resistance took several forms. Requesting the ancient custom of promotion was one way of getting round the problem. Another was to put forward only one candidate which made the examination impossible. When the concorso was announced, the professors with the required qualifications met and decided amongst themselves who should stand for positions. In 1593 Turno Pinocci got the German nation to write to Florence in his favour, hoping that the influence of the Germans would persuade the authorities to give him a chair. However, the ruse failed and Pinocci declined to compete against Alessandro Taia. The same year Niccolò Placidi proposed that he resign his chair in favour of Francesco Accarigi, arguing that the reform did not cover resignations. Another ploy was for a senior professor to enter a concorso for one of the lesser chairs, withdrawing at the last minute to force the appointment of a younger candidate. For example, in 1598 Alcibiade Lucarini withdrew in favour of Sallustio Ugurgieri. However, the trick failed because another young candidate entered the competition. When he heard of this, Ferdinando ordered

¹² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 8, 9, 12–13, 168–170, 173–174.

¹³ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 11–13, 170–173.

all three men to compete and Lucarini was appointed to a position far below his dignity.¹⁴

Yet the grand duke and the governor also undermined the concorso system. Since Del Caccia was more concerned with overcoming jealousies between the major families of Siena than with the well-being of the Studio, he was willing to accommodate them in the selection of professors. For example, he appointed Orazio Sergardi and Dionigi Tantucci to teach the *Institutes*.¹⁵ Meanwhile Ferdinando extended his control beyond the appointment of the chairs of medicine pratica and teorica which the reform permitted. In practice, the first chair in civil law della mattina (the so-called 'foreigner's chair' as it was often awarded to a professor from outside Siena), the first chair of civil law della sera as well as those of mathematics, Tuscan language, umanità, and simples were also awarded without competition and at the prince's discretion.¹⁶ This led to some problems. For example, in 1593, a foreign professor was sought for the chair in civil law della mattina since this would be the only way to avoid dissent with the Studio. However, delays by the grand ducal secretary and the Balìa forced the deputati to consider Sienese candidates who had the further disadvantage of being young men. The new governor of Siena, Fabio della Corgna, recommended that the chair be left vacant but Ferdinando gave the chair to Francesco Accarigi and criticised the deputati for their rumourmongering. The promotion of Accarigi over men who were older than him, together with the competition to replace him in the chair of *Pandects*, led to such bad feeling in the city and the Studio that one of the deputati wrote to warn the grand ducal secretaries.¹⁷

The 1589 reform was weakened by collective failure as well as by the opposition and meddling of particular groups. For example, Ferdinando condoned the proposal that Piermaria Salimbeni be appointed to the extraordinary chair of civil law even though he had only recently received his doctorate and he was blind.¹⁸ In addition, following the death of Niccolò Placidi in 1595, there were fears that holding a concorso to fill his ordinary chair of civil law della sera would disrupt

¹⁴ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 61–64, 67–68, 191, 316–317; Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 116.

¹⁵ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 109.

¹⁶ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 43–46, 228–264.

¹⁷ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," pp. 111, 113.

¹⁸ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," pp. 110, 116.

the Studio. Negotiations involving the deputati, Francesco Accarigi, the grand ducal secretary Lorenzo Usimbardi, and the new governor of Siena, Tommaso Malaspina, decided on a modification of the old system of promotions. Under this plan, Placidi would be replaced by Girolamo Cerretani, who would be replaced by Ippolito Carli. Carli's chair would then be the subject of a concorso at the end of the academic year. This became the model for appointments for the major and minor chairs of law though concorsi continued to be held for positions in arts and medicine.¹⁹

SALARIES

Salaries were higher at the Studio pisano than the Studio senese and there was generally little dissent on this issue from professors at Pisa.²⁰ However, in the report on the Studio pisano which Francesco Verino sent in 1587 to Piero Usimbardi, the first secretary of Ferdinando, he outlined detailed proposals for wage increases. Since the cost of living had doubled in the previous thirty years, Verino suggested that those at the beginning of their careers, the professors of logic and the extraordinary chairs, should be paid 100 scudi, double what they had been receiving. He also asked that these men receive pay increases of 50 rather than 25 scudi. These rises should occur every five years rather than every four years as had happened hitherto, giving the junior professors longer to prove their abilities. The ordinary professors should have initial salaries of 200 scudi, rising in instalments of 100 scudi every five years. There would be ceilings for all wages: 400 scudi for professors of logic, professors of canon law, and extraordinary professors; 600 scudi for the ordinary professors of law and medicine; and 800 scudi for the professors of arts who did not practice medicine and hence had no other income. Once these ceilings had been reached, there would be no further wage rises but at this point the grand duke would have to confirm that the professors had their posts for life. After thirty years of teaching, professors should be allowed to dedicate themselves entirely to

¹⁹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 189–190. There was a backlash in 1598 when Malaspina ordered “the inviolable observance” of the 1589 legislation, forbidding actions contrary to the reform. But it was impossible to counter effectively the secret agreements of the professors, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 69, 196–197.

²⁰ For a comparison of salaries, see Chapter Three.

research as already happened in some Spanish universities after twenty-five years of service. If these proposals were to be accepted, Verino believed the financial worries of the professors would be removed.²¹ But they were not approved. This failure is unsurprising for three reasons. First, there is the great cost which the proposals would have entailed. Secondly, their indiscriminate rigidity was alien to how Italian universities worked.²² Finally, Verino's favouring of arts over law was also contrary to tradition though understandable since he had taught philosophy at Pisa since 1554.²³

Salaries were a far more contentious subject at the Studio senese. Embassies from Siena to Florence regularly requested pay increases and the settlement of outstanding wages.²⁴ Occasionally professors made personal protests. For example, in 1562 Francesco Buoninsegni, who had held the chair of medicine for several years, appealed directly to Cosimo for an increase in his salary to at least 200 florins. The governor, Agnolo Niccolini, had already agreed to raise Buoninsegni's salary and that of Niccolò Finetti to 100 florins and Niccolini did not want a further increase which would cause dissent. Cosimo told Niccolini to deal with the matter as he saw fit and the governor did as he had originally planned.²⁵ Salaries at the Studio senese rose following the reform of 1589.²⁶ Nevertheless, some professors remained on the poverty line. In order to entice Benedetto Panuzio to come to

²¹ ASF, Carte Stroziane, ser. 1, 101, "Parere o vero Giudizio di m. Francesco de' Vieri detto il Verino secondo intorno al famoso et nobile Studio di Pisa," fols. 47v–49r. For discussions of the "Parere", see Alessandra Del Fante, "Lo Studio di Pisa in un manoscritto inedito di Francesco Verino secondo," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 64 (1980): 396–420 and Armando F. Verde, O.P., "Il «Parere» del 1587 di Francesco Verino sullo Studio Pisano," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1983), Vol. 1, pp. 71–94.

²² Though it should be noted that a fixed framework of chairs and salaries was adopted for the Studio senese two years later.

²³ Whilst writing his *Historia Academiae Pisanae*, 3 vols. (Pisa, 1791–1795), Angelo Fabroni gathered the following joke: "A worthy man, asked why in Italian universities a professor of law was paid more than a doctor of theology, replied, 'Because more weight is given to the gown than to the conscience'. The same man, asked why a lawyer was paid more than a medic, replied, 'Because men abhor poverty more than illness'. Asked why a lawyer was paid more than a philosopher, he said 'Because it means more to win a case than a disputation'." The joke is recorded in Rodolfo Del Gratta, "Note sul Collegio giuridico dello Studio pisano (1543–1616)," in Rodolfo Del Gratta, *Scritti minori* (Pisa, 1999), pp. 127–131 (p. 127). For Verino's career at Pisa, see Appendix V and Del Fante, "Lo Studio di Pisa," pp. 396–398.

²⁴ For these embassies, see Chapter Three, n. 38.

²⁵ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 85.

²⁶ See Chapter Three.

teach mathematics in 1590, the governor, Marzio Colloredo, said that he could eat at his table.²⁷

TEACHING

Teaching issues not only pitted the administrators against the professors but divided the professors amongst themselves. Poaching students was a problem common to Pisa and Siena. In his report to Usimbardi, Francesco Verino called for a ban on professors invading the teaching speciality of their colleagues or trying to attract students via games and banquets. Whilst praising professors who gave extra lessons for their appointed courses on feast days, he criticised those who taught privately in their own homes on regular teaching days.²⁸ Meanwhile in Siena in 1591 a young professor of the *Institutes*, Giulio Pannocchieschi d'Elci, denounced to the grand ducal secretaries the ordinary professors of civil law, accusing them of teaching the *Institutes* in their own homes at the time when this text was supposed to be taught in the Sapienza. The governor admitted that there was truth to the allegation and that he had had to forbid his own son from helping at the illegal lessons. This episode provoked a major reaction from the senior professors with reciprocal accusations and in the end Pannochieschi had to abandon his academic career.²⁹

Too little teaching could be as troublesome as too much. Whilst resistance to the concorsi caused difficulties, it has been argued that the most common problem at the Studio senese was professors failing to hold lectures or take part in disputations.³⁰ Within only a month of the introduction of the 1589 reform, one of its authors, Lorenzo Usimbardi, complained to his brother Piero, the first secretary, about professors not teaching.³¹ The issue of absence in Siena was exacerbated by low salaries which forced men to seek supplementary employment either in some public office or as a physician or lawyer. Faced with these difficulties, the governor and the deputati could do little. Some absentees were tolerated, some were penalised but there could be no orderly progress

²⁷ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 110.

²⁸ ASF, Carte Stroziane, ser. 1, 101, fols. 55v–56v.

²⁹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 85–86, 181, 182–83.

³⁰ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 86.

³¹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 87, 175.

of teaching. The *puntatore* did his job, noting absences and fining professors but the professors, even if they were punished, preferred to use their time in more lucrative activities. In 1607 the *deputati* ordered fines for those who started their lessons late and Ferdinando threatened to dismiss those professors who were the worst absentees.³²

Failure to teach was also a problem at the *Studio pisano*. For example, in 1590 Galileo was fined for missing eighteen lectures.³³ In 1592 Ferdinando supported the *provveditore*, Cappone Capponi, who had complained about professors not working on feast days and the eve of feast days; the abuse had started with a few men but had to be stamped out. The grand duke ordered the professors to teach on all the days which they were supposed to according to the statutes. If they ignored his order, they were to be sacked and the cause made known, damaging their chances of employment elsewhere. In addition, professors who did not teach the full lesson were to have their salaries withheld.³⁴

EXAMINATIONS

Some of the bitterest divisions within and between the structures of academic power at Pisa and Siena regarded examinations, particularly the role of the rector. On 27 August 1575 the rector of the *Studio pisano*, Giovan Pietro Ranieri, wrote to the *auditore*, Lelio Torelli. Ranieri reported that in an examination held that morning, the ordinary professor of canon law, Francesco Bertini, irritated at not being named as a promotor by the doctorand, presented two arguments which lasted an hour and which would have been more suited for a professor than for a young man. Following protests from some colleagues, worried that these methods would terrify students and damage the reputation of the *Studio*, an undignified row broke out which involved Bertini, the prior of the college, and two other professors. Gloves and handkerchiefs were thrown as well as insults. The rector had tried to quieten the situation but the ordinary professor of civil law, Girolamo Papponi, told him that he had neither jurisdiction nor authority in that place. Ranieri concluded his letter by saying that, according to the statutes,

³² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 87–90, 175, 204–206.

³³ Galileo Galilei, *Opere*, ed. Antonio Favaro, 20 vols. (Florence, 1968), Vol. 10, p. 44; Vol. 19, p. 43.

³⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 89v, 20 Aug. 1592.

the rector was head of all the colleges and by arguing that in any case his intervention would have been useful in controlling the professors, who were not inclined to listen to their prior.³⁵ On 19 October 1575 Ranieri sent letters to Torelli and the grand duke. He reported that Fabrizio del conte Galeotto di Montecuccoli, after having been examined publicly, had wanted to amend the oath of loyalty to the grand duke as laid out in the statutes by adding the words “without prejudice to my prince”. Despite the seriousness of this gesture, the college and the archbishop had approved the degree, which had been recorded by the notary. Ranieri argued that this would not have taken place if he had not been forced to be absent; the legists had refused to give him “first place” as was his right.³⁶ On 10 November Ranieri wrote again to Torelli, informing him that despite Francesco’s order that, should the conte di Montecuccoli not swear according to the regulations, he would not graduate, no further steps had been taken since he had already been awarded the doctorate.³⁷ At the root of this dispute was Ranieri’s claim to occupy the first place in the meetings to examine doctorands. In 1576 the question was discussed by Pietro Calefati in a judgment written to defend the rival claim of the prior of the college. Using the 1480 statutes of the college of legists, Calefati argued that in meetings of the college first place went to the vicechancellor (the archbishop of Pisa), followed by the prior of the college, and then the rector. He accepted that the 1545 statutes gave precedence to the rector over the prior but this was only in meetings outside the college. The issue was considered by the new auditors, Giovan Battista Concini, and on his advice Francesco decided in favour of the rector, stating that it was monstrous for such a topic to be discussed in different ways and extending the 1545 statute to the examinations of doctorands. The decision was also made known to the archbishop of Pisa as vicechancellor of the Studio.³⁸

Immediately following the revival of the rectorate in Siena in 1591, it came under attack from the colleges of doctors which could not tolerate the leading role given to the rector in examinations. The matter was brought to Ferdinando’s attention and, with firmness and irritation, he ordered the governor to give the rector every help in exercising his

³⁵ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 47–48, 155–156.

³⁶ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 48–49, 156–158.

³⁷ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 49, 158.

³⁸ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 49–50, 159–160.

jurisdiction so as to maintain his privileges and status with the colleges. Ferdinando viewed the rectorate as a precious office established for the honour of the city and to increase the number of students. He had harsh words and threats for the colleges and told them that their time would be better spent trying to acquire reputation and fame through their studies and behaviour. The governor asked the Tribunale della Rota to settle the controversy and its judges sided with the rector in all matters except for the right to vote in doctoral examinations. But the dispute dragged on and it was months before the various issues were all resolved.³⁹

In 1592 Ferdinando had to intervene again when the students in Siena protested at the expenses of examinations. He rejected the students' request to cut the twenty scudi to be given to the rector, the fifty-five lire to the archbishop and to the promotori, and the other costs of the doctorate. He ordered the rector to be present at all degree ceremonies. If absent, he was to lose his remuneration. Ferdinando also commanded a continuation of the traditional practices whereby marzapani and flasks of wine were to be given to the rector either before or after each doctorate.⁴⁰

Along with the college's organisation, the conduct of examinations was the focus of proposals to reform the statutes of the college of legists in Pisa in 1558 and 1583. On both occasions, the proposals came to nothing. The failure of the 1583 plans is particularly surprising since they were initiated by Francesco. But he appears to have been reluctant to grant new privileges. Furthermore, the teaching body may have resented the project's attempts to increase distinctions within it. For example, only ordinary professors were to act as promotori of doctorands, undermining the prestige and income of the other professors.⁴¹

Examinations also caused divisions between the auditore and the college of legists at Pisa. In February 1572 Lelio Torelli wrote a letter to the college, criticising aspects of the examination process. He disapproved of the doctorand being able to choose an excessive number of promotori; normally there were between five and ten but this could rise to fourteen or fifteen, making it difficult to find enough members

³⁹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 122–123, 308–309; Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 190–191.

⁴⁰ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 121.

⁴¹ For the texts of the 1558 and 1583 proposals and a discussion of their development, see Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 36–37, 39–43, 52–64, 91–97, 101–125, 146.

of the college to examine the candidate. Torelli also wanted a greater balance in the examination. On the one hand, texts (puncta) should not be assigned which were too difficult but, on the other, these puncta should be discussed properly and not simply in outline. Nor was Torelli happy that the vicar general was forced to go to the sacresty of the church of San Michele in Borgo for the assigning of the puncta; this could be done better in the archiepiscopal palace. The following month, Torelli wrote again to the college, saying that he had heard poor reports of the recent innovations in the examination process. These came from the vicar general of Pisa and from a few professors who had not taken part in the college's work. Torelli suggested that there should be a full consideration of the various issues by all those concerned. However, this initiative lapsed.⁴²

Other bones of contention included the profession of faith and the tradition of awarding doctorates gratis to the sons of teaching professors. From 1566 doctorands had to make a profession of faith. This followed the papal bull *In sacrosancta beati Petri* of 1564 which obliged all universities to make students swear an oath before receiving degrees from universities in Catholic lands. The introduction of the bull at Pisa was delayed due to a debate between the auditore, the provveditore, the archbishop, and the college of legists. The college feared that the oath would reduce the number of students coming to Pisa from beyond the Alps.⁴³ In 1570 the ordinary professor of civil law Pietro Calefato wrote to Torelli about free doctorates for professors' sons. The college of legists discussed the issue and voted by 22 to 15 against it. But Cosimo intervened, stating that he did not want the tradition to be altered.⁴⁴

STATUS

Several of the tensions which arose between and within the structures of academic power regarded questions of status. These issues include jurisdiction and the precedence of professors and rectors. Academic

⁴² Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 51–52, 151–154.

⁴³ Barbara Marangoni, "Lo Studio di Pisa e il divieto di laurea per gli acattolici nell'età medicea (1566–1737)," *Ricerche storiche* 24 (1994): 719–743. For the impact of the bull on other Italian universities, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 191–195.

⁴⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 15r, 28 July 1570; fol. 15v 3 Aug. 1570; fols. 16v–17r, 11 Aug. 1570.

dress was also contentious and attempts to enforce the wearing of the gown would earn the scorn of Galileo Galilei.

The wideranging jurisdiction of the rector of the Studio pisano over criminal and civil cases was central to his standing.⁴⁵ Although he regularly defended his legal authority against the claims of other courts, the rector was rarely challenged by other structures of academic power.⁴⁶ But the multifaceted controversy which in 1575 involved the college of legists and the rector, Giovan Pietro Ranieri, began with a jurisdictional dispute. According to the 1545 statutes, if a plaintiff wished to appeal against the sentence of the rector in civil cases, he had to gain the approval of the consiglieri before the sentence could be examined by two members of the college of legists who were chosen by sortition.⁴⁷ However, there was a failed attempt to extend the colleges' role to criminal cases when, following a serious fight, Ranieri had two Sicilian students imprisoned. At the students' request, the college agreed to intervene but the auditore and the grand duke sided with the rector.⁴⁸

In Siena, the governor and the capitano di giustizia preferred not to recognise the jurisdictional privileges of students.⁴⁹ This was not such a problem for the rector since his authority was limited to civil cases.⁵⁰ However, it did lead to conflicts with the German nation, which had its own consigliere with substantial jurisdictional powers over his members.⁵¹ On some occasions the grand dukes ordered the Germans' privileges to be respected. But in general grand ducal justice paid little respect to these rights and, in the most serious cases, sentences were passed by local courts with student objections brushed aside.⁵² Following a fight between a German student and a young Siennese man in August 1589 the governor, Giulio Del Caccia, proposed reducing the Germans' privileges. In a letter to Lorenzo Usimbardi, the grand ducal secretary, Del Caccia asked that German students be forbidden from carrying

⁴⁵ See Chapter Three.

⁴⁶ For the rector's resistance to other courts, see Chapter Three, nn. 118–127.

⁴⁷ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, p. 596.

⁴⁸ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, p. 47.

⁴⁹ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 131.

⁵⁰ See Chapter Three.

⁵¹ Francesco gave jurisdictional powers to the German nation in 1574 but these did not extend to homicide, see Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, p. 59, n. 141.

⁵² Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," pp. 128, 131. For the violence of German students, see Chapter Six.

arms at night. He acknowledged that this limitation might make some of them wish to move to other universities, with some loss to “the merchants”, but this would be better than damaging justice. This episode is instructive since it serves to expose the substantial differences between the interests of the governor and the Sienese authorities.⁵³

The jurisdiction of the consigliere of the German nation in Siena also led to tensions involving the Sapienza, the residential college where many German students lived. In 1601 the Sapienza was described as a refuge of rogues and gambling den by Scipione Naldi, one of the men who ruled Siena during the interim in the governorship. The reform of the Sapienza in 1602 led the following year to the ‘sapienzani’ barricading the doors of the college, which was besieged by the police chief, the bargello, with a large number of his officers, the sbirri. In 1604 the students set fire to the fittings of the Sapienza and in 1609 there were serious incidents involving weapons. The same year also witnessed noisy interruptions of teaching by students from their rooms above the lecture halls. The Germans refused to recognise the authority of administrator of the Sapienza, the camarlingo, arguing that they were subject to the disciplinary powers of their consigliere.⁵⁴

Precedence was a common cause of disputes in late sixteenth-century Italy whether between the grand dukes of Tuscany and the dukes of Ferrara, the grand ducal secretaries and the members of the Senato, or professors at the Studio pisano and the knights of the Order of Santo Stefano.⁵⁵ It was also a controversial issue within the Studio and in his report of 1587 Francesco Verino stressed the importance of the grand duke recognising the correct hierarchy.⁵⁶ This hierarchy had been outlined in the 1545 statutes. According to them, the position of honour went to the rector of the student-university. He was to be followed by the rector of the residential college, the Sapienza. The prior of the college of legists was to be on his right and the prior of the college of artists on his left. Next came the professors, legists and

⁵³ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 111–112, 304–305.

⁵⁴ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 132, 317, 319–320, 332–333. In 1602 there were plans to establish a provveditore of the German nation. Appointed by the grand duke, his declared purpose was to purchase everything which the German nation needed but it was hoped that in reality he would exercise some measure of control over the German students. However, the project was met with frostiness by the interested parties and came to nothing, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 141, 328–329.

⁵⁵ For these clashes, see Chapter One, nn. 20, 90, 106.

⁵⁶ ASF, Carte Stroziane, ser. 1, 101, fol. 21v.

artists, according to the date of their doctorates. After them came the consiglieri of the nations and of the Sapienza. Finally there were the remaining students.⁵⁷ It appears that precedence became an issue at the Studio pisano in 1575 when, as we have seen, the rector claimed to occupy first place in examinations, a contention which was supported by the grand duke. In 1578 the question of hierarchy was revived when there was a dispute between a prior of one of the colleges of doctors and the rector of the Sapienza. Francesco decided that the rector of the student-university and the rector of the Sapienza should have joint precedence.⁵⁸ Apart from clashes between the colleges and the rectors, hierarchy also divided the professors against themselves. In 1580 the professors of theology and logic argued over seniority. The auditors, Giovan Battista Concini, intervened, adhering to the principle of the date of the doctorate, regardless of subject.⁵⁹ In 1592 there was a controversy regarding numerary membership of the college of legists.⁶⁰ Although only recently appointed, Alessandro Ro asserted his claim as the holder of the senior chair in civil law and the possessor of the oldest doctorate. He was challenged by Filippo Bonaventuri and Pietro Niccolai who both argued that they had longer records of service both as members of the college and as professors at Pisa. The case was handed to the judges of the Rota fiorentina to decide. Having examined previous discussions of the issue, they found against Ro and their decision was upheld by Ferdinando.⁶¹

The late sixteenth century also saw a series of measures to enforce standards of academic dress both at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese.⁶² In 1570 the auditor, Lelio Torelli, told the college of legists in Pisa of his displeasure that some professors wore short jackets not only in the town but also at college meetings and public ceremonies. According to Torelli, this dress dishonoured those who were supposed to teach not only their subjects but also good behaviour. He made clear that if Cosimo and Francesco were to hear of this, they would

⁵⁷ "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, p. 624.

⁵⁸ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 160–161.

⁵⁹ ASP, Udp, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 63v, 30 Apr. 1580.

⁶⁰ The question of numerary members had divided the college of legists in 1546. By a vote of 13 to 4, it was agreed that there would be eight such members of the college, see Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 137–138.

⁶¹ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 161–163.

⁶² For the development of academic dress, see W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Academical Dress in Europe* (Oxford, 1963).

be equally unhappy and he exhorted the college to improve its standards.⁶³ Torelli's successor, Giovan Battista Concini, was equally critical. Since professors had gone about Pisa dressed as "scoundrels and failed craftsmen", it was decreed that throughout the academic year they had to wear the gown. The only exception to the regulation were professors of medicine who were also practicing physicians.⁶⁴ Amongst the professors fined for failing to wear their gowns was Galileo, who taught mathematics at the Studio pisano from 1589 to 1592.⁶⁵ Following this episode, he wrote the poem *Contro il portar la toga* (*Against the wearing of the gown*). In this work, Galileo argues that wearing the gown is unnatural, inhibiting one's ability to urinate and to visit brothels. He believes it would be far better to return to a state of nature when nudity ensured that "everything was sold according to its weight and measures", benefiting women looking for husbands.⁶⁶ The students in Pisa also resisted the gown since in 1592 Ferdinando had to order all those living in the Sapienza to obey the college's statutes by wearing it both in the college and in the town. Failure to obey the grand duke's order would result in a fine of 6 scudi for the first offence and dismissal from the Sapienza for the second.⁶⁷

Academic dress also became a concern in Siena at the end of the sixteenth century. During the discussions regarding the reform of the Studio senese in 1589, the issue divided Concini and the governor of Siena, Giulio Del Caccia. Concini advised that the regulations at the Studio pisano should also be introduced to the Studio senese since a professor was "like the father of the student and not a companion with whom to run riot and indulge in dissipation."⁶⁸ However, Del Caccia was more realistic, arguing that the wearing of the gown should be limited to lessons since older professors chose not to wear it.⁶⁹ In the end, the reform settled for a compromise: all professors were obliged to wear the gown on teaching days and at the least when they were lecturing.

⁶³ ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 2, fol. 173r, 21 Oct. 1570.

⁶⁴ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 172.

⁶⁵ For Galileo's fine in 1590, see Galilei, *Opere*, Vol. 10, p. 44.

⁶⁶ For the text, see Galilei, *Opere*, Vol. 9, pp. 213–223. For discussions of the poem, see Anne Reynolds, "Galileo Galilei and the Satirical Poem «Contro il portar la toga»: the Literary Foundations of Science," *Nuncius* 17 (2002): 45–62 and the essays in Galileo Galilei, *Contro il portar la toga* (Pisa, 2005).

⁶⁷ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 89v, 20 Aug. 1592.

⁶⁸ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 172.

⁶⁹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 174.

The only exceptions were the professors of Tuscan, mathematics, simples, and anatomy.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the resistance continued and in 1607 the deputati ordered fines for those who were improperly dressed.⁷¹

PROTESTANTISM

The Catholic Reformation was another source of tensions between the structures of academic power. As noted, despite the opposition of the college of legists, the papal bull *In sacrosancta beati Petri* led to doctorands at the Studio pisano having to make a profession of faith.⁷² Students at the Studio senese did not face a similar obligation. However, in July 1570 some German students were arrested in Siena by the Inquisition on the suspicion of heresy. This action was approved by Francesco, who told the governor of Siena, Federigo, Conte di Montauto, that he would prefer the city to lose its German nation rather it be infected by heresy. Francesco made clear to Montauto that he was acting in line with papal policy and only two days later he asked the governor to intervene in the case of another German, whom Francesco maintained was a good Catholic. Since the Medici wished to avoid disputes with the German princes, there was only one further arrest between 1570 and 1586, that of a Flemish student in the Sapienza who had tried to establish a lay company. Nevertheless, many Germans did leave Siena. Others renounced their Protestant beliefs and Francesco advised Montauto to send these to Pisa, where they would be removed from the large German nation in Siena and where they would have to make a profession of faith if they wished to graduate.⁷³ Such was the impact of the 1570 case that, in the hope of attracting the Germans back to Siena, Francesco gave the German nation limited jurisdictional powers in 1574.⁷⁴ Whilst this policy was endorsed strongly by Lelio Torelli, it aroused fears in Giovan Battista Concino, who thought Siena was in danger of becoming a haven of Lutheranism.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 163.

⁷¹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 90.

⁷² See n. 43.

⁷³ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 126; Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 42–43, 49, 58 n. 139.

⁷⁴ See n. 51.

⁷⁵ For the views of Torelli and Cincini, see Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 179–181.

There was another German exodus in 1586 for similar reasons as in 1570. At the request of the Inquisition, the governor, Giulio del Caccia, ordered the arrest of Protestant students, who included a consul of the German nation and two counts of Hanack, who were relatives of the imperial chamberlain. Following an embassy from the German nation and recognising its importance to Siena and the Studio, Francesco ordered the governor to release those who had been arrested, though they were still subject to the Inquisition.⁷⁶

PROTECTIONISM

The tensions within the structures of academic power can be seen particularly clearly over the issue of protectionism. This also exposed the fracture between the *stato vecchio* of Florence and the *stato nuovo* of Siena which lay at the heart of the grand duchy. Ever since 1224 when Emperor Frederick II forbade his Sicilian subjects from studying or teaching anywhere except Naples and Salerno, the rulers of the Italian states had tried to impose academic protectionism to bolster their own universities.⁷⁷ For example, restrictions on the movements of students and professors were introduced by the Siense government in 1338, 1357, and 1386.⁷⁸ It is in this context that one should consider the protectionist policies of the Medici grand dukes rather than seeing them as evidence of a new absolutism. What was novel was the creation of academic protectionism within the grand duchy. Inevitably this led to tensions.

Prior to 1557 traditional protectionism was practiced. In 1541 the Florentine and Siense governments did agree an accord regarding the freedom of movement of Tuscan students.⁷⁹ However, this pact was overturned in 1543 when, in preparation for the reopening of the Studio pisano, Cosimo ordered all of his subjects to study in Pisa. The penalty for failing to do so was 500 florins.⁸⁰ The Siense government

⁷⁶ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," pp. 126–127.

⁷⁷ See Antonio Marongiu, "Protezionismi scolastici di altri tempi e problemi universitari di ieri e di oggi," and "Protezionismi scolastici e stipendi professorali," in Antonio Marongiu, *Stato e Scuola. Esperienze e problemi della occidentale* (Milan, 1974), pp. 251–265, 283–312.

⁷⁸ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 145 n. 554.

⁷⁹ ASS, Capitoli 5, fols. 396r–397v.

⁸⁰ For the text of the legislation, see Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp.

immediately sought to negotiate so that the Studio senese could retain students from towns such as Montepulciano, Poggibonsi, Colle, and San Gimignano, which were part of the duke's dominion.⁸¹ Their loss would have caused incalculable damage to the Studio senese given the small size of the native student population.⁸²

A new situation developed after 1557. The 1543 legislation was maintained and reaffirmed in 1588.⁸³ However, the enfeoffment of Siena meant that the regulation was now enforced to the detriment of a university under Medici rule, the Studio senese. This fact serves as a reminder that, rather than being a single centralised state, the grand duchy was in fact two autonomous states.⁸⁴

Unsurprisingly, the protectionism provoked a reaction in Siena. In 1590 the Balìa asked Ferdinando to allow students from the stato vecchio to attend the Studio senese; he replied that each student would have to apply for a licence.⁸⁵ The suggestions for the reform of the Studio which the rector, Giorgio Fuccaro, submitted to Ferdinando in 1593 argued that the principal reason for its decline was the absence of students from the stato vecchio. In Fuccaro's view, this absence damaged the reputation of the Studio in distant states.⁸⁶ Although Ferdinando favoured Siena more than Cosimo and Francesco, he refused to repeal the "ancient order" which privileged Pisa; to do so would prejudice the Studio pisano. Moreover, he did not accept that the lack of students in Siena was due to this cause. If professors wished to attract students, Ferdinando believed they should use their teaching, eloquence, other virtues, and "sweet violence".⁸⁷

191–192. For the protectionist policies of the Medici in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Danilo Marrara, "Sugli ordinamenti protezionistici dello Studio di Pisa nell'età di Ferdinando I de' Medici," *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 33–35 (1964): 303–312 and Danilo Marrara, "Aspetti del protezionismo scolastico a Pisa nel secolo XVII," *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 50 (1981): 105–125. Francesco appears to have adopted a policy of general laxity as to where his subjects studied. This could include Paris as well as Siena, see Cascio Pratilli, *L'Università e il Principe*, pp. 57–58, 84–85, 102–103, 156, 162–63.

⁸¹ ASS, Concistoro 1502, fols. 95v–96r.

⁸² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 146.

⁸³ For the text of the 1588 legislation, see Cantini, *Legislazione toscana*, Vol. 12, pp. 391–392.

⁸⁴ Marrara, *Studi giuridici*, pp. 89–92. For the nature of the grand duchy, see also Chapter One.

⁸⁵ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 306.

⁸⁶ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 310. Fuccaro was himself German.

⁸⁷ For the grand dukes' patronage of the Studio senese, see Chapter Three. For Ferdinando's response to Fuccaro, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 313.

PART THREE

ORDER AND DISORDER

CHAPTER FIVE

RITUALS

As part of the reinforcement of the grand dukes' power through visual and other cultural practices, rituals were used widely in early modern Tuscany.¹ Moreover, since the rise of universities in the twelfth century, their image and character have been expressed by costumes, insignia, and ceremonies. Given this and the increasing interest in rituals generally, it is surprising how little scholarly attention has been paid to these academic practices. Moreover, whilst some studies discuss possible anthropological meanings, many do not.² The most theoretically sophisticated analysis of academic ritual to date focuses on contemporary higher education in the United States.³

Rituals played an important part in the establishment of authority at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese. However, rituals also encouraged the disorder which they tried to control. The rituals can

¹ Casini, *I gesti del principe*, *passim*; Casini, "La corte," pp. 461–484.

² For the Middle Ages, see Jacques Verger, "Teachers," in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Hilde de Ridder Symoens and Walter Rüegg, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1991–2004), Vol. 1, pp. 144–168 (pp. 144–148); Rainer Christophe Schwinges, "Student education, student life," in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Hilde de Ridder Symoens and Walter Rüegg, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1991–2004), Vol. 1, pp. 195–242 (pp. 229–230); Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 100–108; and B. B. Price, "Paired in Ceremony: Academic Inception and Trade-Guild Reception," *History of Universities* 20 (2005), 1–37. For the early modern period, see Giovanna Ferrari, "Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival: The Anatomy Theatre of Bologna, *Past and Present* 117 (1987), 50–106; Willem Frijhoff, "Graduation and Careers," in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Hilde de Ridder Symoens and Walter Rüegg, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1991–2004), Vol. 2, pp. 355–415 (pp. 356, 361–362); Rainer A. Müller, "Student education, student life," in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Hilde de Ridder Symoens and Walter Rüegg, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1991–2004), Vol. 2, pp. 326–354 (pp. 349–350); Kristine Haugen, "Imagined Universities: Public Insult and the *Terrae Filius* in Early Modern Oxford," *History of Universities* 16 (2000): 1–31; Felicity Henderson, "Putting the Dons in their Place: A Restoration Oxford *Terrae Filius* Speech," *History of Universities* 16 (2000): 32–64; and Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 175–178, 503–505. There are no references to academic rituals in the best survey of early modern rituals, Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2005).

³ Kathleen Manning, *Rituals, Ceremonies and Cultural Meaning in Higher Education* (Westport, CT, 2000).

be divided into two main types: academic and non-academic. The academic include student initiation rites (spupillazione), the examination process, and the creation of the rector of the student-university. The non-academic focus on Carnival and involve masquerades, bullfights, river battles, and jousts.

rites of passage and rites of violence

Before analysing the academic and non-academic rituals associated with the Studio pisano and the Studio senese, it may be helpful to discuss the two main categories into which they fall: rites of passage and rites of violence. Rites of passage were defined by Arnold Van Gennep in his famous study, *Les rites de passage*.⁴ According to him, a rite of passage consists of a series of rituals performed at a special time and in a special place. The series includes three major phases. First, the rites of separation (preliminal), which remove the individual from his or her previous status. Secondly, the rites of transition (liminal), where the subject is temporarily suspended between his or her old and new status, allowing them to experience the sacred or see an alternative social world. Thirdly, the rites of aggregation or incorporation (postliminal), which welcome the person into a new community. Finally, “although a complete scheme of rites of passage theoretically includes [all of these rites], in specific instances these three types are not always equally important or equally elaborated.”⁵

Van Gennep argued that the most obvious rites of passage are linked to changes in biological states: birth; marriage; death. However, there are also what Edward Muir calls the ‘passages of status’. Whilst these were very limited for women, “The transitions in status for males were much more varied, given the greater range of public roles afforded them.”⁶ Muir focuses on two main types of passage of status. First, the charivaris, vendettas, and gang rapes associated with aggressive gangs known as youth-abbeyes, youth-kingdoms, or brigades which, in Muir’s view, structured a period of prolonged liminality during the transition between puberty and marriage. Secondly, the ritual of vassalage, with

⁴ Arnold Van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris, 1909); English translation, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago, 1960).

⁵ Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, p. 11.

⁶ Muir, *Ritual*, p. 33.

its rites of homage, the oath of fealty, and the investiture of the fief which closely correspond to the rites of passage as defined by Van Gennep. Although of medieval origin, Muir believes the ritual of vassalage "provided the archetype for defining a relationship between a social superior and inferior throughout the early modern period."⁷

Muir also interprets the activities of the youth-abbey as rites of violence.⁸ This term was coined by Natalie Zemon Davis in her analysis of religious riots in sixteenth-century France.⁹ Muir extends its scope to cover not only charivaris and vendettas but also Carnival, carnivalesque festivities, ritual combats, dangerous sports, and public punishments. These ritual forms sought to control the performances of aggression which were necessary to establish masculine identity.¹⁰ However, Muir notes that "Rites of violence created an opening to disorder, the outcome of which could not be entirely contained by ritual or controlled by single leaders..."¹¹

SPUPILLAZIONE

Initiation rites were a feature of student life in the universities of medieval Europe, where the freshman was known as the *beanus* or *bejanus*, which may derive from the French *bec-jaune* (yellow-bill). The most common aspect of these rites was a feast which the *beanus* was expected or required to provide for his colleagues, examiners, or the whole student nation when he determined as a bachelor or when he incepted as a master or took up an office in the nation. University statutes suggest that these feasts could be opportunities for hazing with the physical and verbal humiliation of the *beanus*. Statutes also prohibit the exaction of money by other students and other forms of bullying, including the throwing of urine and faeces at *beani*. The most detailed account of medieval student initiation is found in the *Manuale scholarium*, a text for conversational Latin and a guidebook for freshmen at the University of Leipzig which was published in 1481. It includes a description of the

⁷ Muir, *Ritual*, pp. 33–37.

⁸ Muir, *Ritual*, p. 112.

⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present* 59 (1973): 51–91.

¹⁰ Muir, *Ritual*, pp. 112–121.

¹¹ Muir, *Ritual*, p. 113.

removal of the initiate's false horns and teeth, the shaving of his beard, and the forced confession to crimes including theft, rape, and perjury. He is then ordered to buy them dinner with fine wine. Evidence from Heidelberg and Erfurt suggests that such rituals were practiced in the German universities from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.¹²

The focus of student initiation rites in the early modern Italian universities was *spupillazione*, also known as *expupillatio*, *l'uso di dispupillare*, *il dispupillar i giovani*, and *spupille*. Since a *pupillo* was a minor under the guardianship of someone older, *spupillazione* described the payment by the new student to free himself from the 'guardianship' of older students. At Pavia a new student's failure on his arrival to give gifts to the counsellor, vice counsellor, and chancellor of his nation led to a year-long *pupillagine*, which comprised the continual invasion of his room and occasionally threats to kill and firearms. At Padua the new student was required to buy an expensive dinner for his fellow students. This could lead to the exaction of money and, if the initiate resisted, full-scale student warfare. Unsurprisingly both Pavia and Padua tried to ban *spupillazione* but these attempts failed and the practice continued at Padua until the eighteenth century.¹³

Unfortunately, although there is evidence of *spupillazione* at the *Studio pisano* in the late seventeenth century, we do not know about the earlier period.¹⁴ However, the situation at the *Studio senese* is a little clearer. There, in comparison with elsewhere, *spupillazione* was relatively mild with the feast as the focus. At the beginning of the academic year students entering the residential college, the *Casa della Sapienza*, were required to pay for a dinner of pizza and wine for their elders. The eating and drinking were accompanied by jokes, pranks, and the reciting of obscene poetry.¹⁵ Clearly this echoes rituals at other universities. However, one should note that feasts were also celebrated by other Sienese cultural institutions such as the *Accademia degli Intronati*

¹² For initiation rites at medieval universities, see Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936), Vol. 3, pp. 376–385 and Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 100–108. For an English translation of the *Manuale scholarium*, see *The Manuale Scholarium*, trans. R. F. Seybolt (Cambridge, Mass., 1921).

¹³ Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 503–505.

¹⁴ Stefano De Rosa, *Una biblioteca universitaria del secondo '600. La Libreria di Sapienza dello Studio pisano (1666–1700)* (Florence, 1983), pp. 24–25, 63.

¹⁵ Giovanni Minnucci and Leo Košuta, *Lo Studio di Siena nei secoli XIV–XVI* (Milan, 1989), p. 569.

and the Accademia de' Filomati and that their members also composed obscene poems such as Antonio Vignali's *La Cazzaria*.¹⁶

How can we interpret the feasts in the Casa della Sapienza? The poetry and the joke-playing suggest elements of Carnival. However, the most important element is the food and drink. As Van Gennep argues, "The rite of eating and drinking together... is clearly a rite of incorporation, of physical union, and has been called a sacrament of communion."¹⁷ Therefore, the feast marked the entry of the student into the community of the Casa.

THE EXAMINATION PROCESS

Much more is known about the examination processes at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese.¹⁸ There were four main stages.¹⁹ First, the presentation of the graduand. Secondly, the assignment of examination texts or puncta. Thirdly, the private examination. Finally, the public examination or conventus. At Pisa the presentation of the graduand and the assigning of puncta took place in the sacresty of the church of San Michele in Borgo whilst the private and public examinations were held in a room of the archiepiscopal palace. In Siena most of the stages occurred in the archiepiscopal palace. However, it appears that from 1440 the public examination may have taken place in the cathedral since the cathedral works arranged for a stage to be placed

¹⁶ For the banquets, see François Quiviger, "A Spartan Academic Banquet in Siena," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 206–225. For *La Cazzaria*, see Antonio Vignali, *La Cazzaria: The Book of the Prick*, ed. and trans. Ian Frederick Moulton (New York, 2003).

¹⁷ Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, p. 29.

¹⁸ For the examination process at Pisa, see *Acta*, ed. Del Gratta, *passim*, and *Acta*, ed. Volpi, *passim*; "Gli statuti di Cosimo I," ed. Marrara, pp. 625–627; Marrara, "L'età medicea," pp. 171–174; Marangoni, "Lo Studio di Pisa," 719–743; and Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 18–19, 32, 46, 50–51, 150–151. For the examination process at Siena, see *Le lauree dello Studio senese alla fine del secolo XV*, ed. Minnucci, *passim*; *Le lauree dello Studio senese all'inizio del secolo XVI (1501–1506)*, ed. Minnucci, *passim*; *Le lauree dello Studio senese all'inizio del secolo XVI (1507–1514)*, ed. Minnucci, *passim*; *Le lauree dello Studio senese nel XVI secolo*, ed. Minnucci and Morelli, *passim*; Minnucci, "Il conferimento dei titoli," pp. 213–226. Unless indicated, the following discussion is based on these sources. For a summary of examination procedures at other Italian universities, see Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 175–178.

¹⁹ In 1572 a mock examination was introduced at Pisa to ensure that candidates were ready before they were formally presented for examination, see Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 50–51, 150–151.

in the choir for use in doctoral ceremonies.²⁰ The locations are easily explicable. Since all degrees at universities were issued ultimately on papal authority, examinations and graduations took place in episcopal and archiepiscopal palaces and in cathedrals.

The examination process began with the presentation of the graduand to the vicar-general by members of the appropriate college of doctors. In Siena some graduands had only two or three promotori but it was more usual to have four and it was not unheard of to have five, six, or even seven. At the Studio pisano there were normally between five and ten promotori. However, in 1572 *auditore* Lelio Torelli complained to the college of legists about excessive numbers of promotori; some students were being presented by fourteen or fifteen men, making it difficult to find enough members of the college to examine the candidate.²¹ Failure to be chosen as a promotor could lead to a professor attacking a graduand excessively in the examination.²² The number of promotori may have been linked to the status of the graduand with a high-ranking student more likely to have a larger group of promotori. However, further investigation is needed to establish this.

One of the main purposes of the presentation was to establish the student's qualifications, especially as transfers from university to university were common. According to the 1545 statutes, the graduand at the Studio pisano had to swear in the hands of the prior of the college that he had studied for five years in the faculty in which he sought his degree. However, in 1572 the length of study required was reduced to three years for those being examined in one subject. Regrettably the loss of the Sienese statutes prevents us from knowing the regulations at the Studio senese.

Following the presentation of the graduand, the vicar-general assigned two passages or *puncta* from the texts which the graduand had studied.²³

²⁰ Archivio dell'Opera Metropolitana di Siena, 13 (21), fol. 60r, 22 July 1440. I am grateful to Monika Butzek for this reference.

²¹ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 51–52, 151–153.

²² See Chapter Four, n. 35.

²³ Of the two *puncta* assigned to the doctorand in canon law, one came from Gratian's *Decretum* and one came from Gregory IX's *Decretals*. Of the two *puncta* assigned to the doctorand in civil law, one always came from the *Digest* and one always came from the *Codex*. Of the two *puncta* assigned to the doctorand in canon and civil law (*in utroque iure*), one came from the *Digest* and one came from the *Decretals*. Of the two *puncta* assigned to the doctorand in medicine, one came from the *Tegni* of Galen and one came from the *Aphorismata* of Hippocrates. Of the two *puncta* assigned to the doctorand in arts, one came from the *Posterior Analytics* and one came from the *Physics*.

The puncta were chosen by simply letting the texts fall open. Both the Pisan and Sienese records are very rich, detailing which puncta were assigned to most graduands.

After the assignment of the puncta, the vicar-general specified the time of the private examination. At the Studio pisano the graduand then had to place twenty scudi in the hands of the prior if he sought the doctorate in canon and civil law, fifteen for other subjects. The sum was divided, in quantities which were specified, between the archbishop, the rector, the entire student-university, the chancellor and the beadles. The remainder was distributed amongst the college. The timing of the payment at the Studio senese is unknown. However, we do know that the revival of the rectorate led to complaints about the cost of degrees. In 1592 Ferdinando rejected a students' request to cut the twenty scudi to be given to the rector, the fifty-five lire to the archbishop as grand chancellor of the Studio and to the promotor, and the other expenses of the doctorate.

The private examination was conducted by the college of doctors within twenty-four hours of the assignment of the puncta. The rector of the student-university had to be present and occasionally this led to disputes.²⁴ In 1557 the college of legists at Pisa forbade admittance to outsiders except for the magistrates of the city and the rector of the Collegio della Sapienza. The examination involved the graduand reciting, arguing, and repeating. Two or more members of the college were charged with formulating objections to his exposition and to his conclusions. At the end of the examination, the college voted. Unfortunately we do not know how the votes were cast at either the Studio pisano or the Studio senese. But candidates had to be approved by at least two-thirds of members and the different levels of approval were reflected in formulae.²⁵ From 1572 all the members of the college of legists at the Studio pisano had to swear an oath annually that they would vote according to their consciences.

At Pisa, once a positive decision had been reached, the rector had to supervise the swearing of oaths of loyalty to the duke of Florence, of

of Aristotle. The two puncta assigned to the doctorand in theology both came from the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

²⁴ See Chapter Four, nn. 35–39.

²⁵ These formulae include: "fuit approbatus", "nemine discrepante", "nemine penitus discrepante", "merito et nemine discrepante", see Minnucci, "Il conferimento," p. 218.

obedience to the rector and his successors, and of observance of the statutes. In 1575 a quarrel developed when Fabrizio del conte Galeotto di Montecuccoli managed to amend the oath of loyalty by adding the words “without prejudice to my prince”.²⁶ From 1566 graduands at Pisa also had to make a profession of faith. This followed the papal bull *In sacrosancta beati Petri* of 1564 which obliged all universities to make students swear an oath before receiving degrees from universities in Catholic lands. Students at the Studio senese were not obliged to make a profession of faith but regrettably nothing is known about any other oaths which they may have sworn.

Once the graduand was approved, he was declared licenced to teach and he received the *licentia docendi* from the vicar-general. At Pisa and Siena, as elsewhere, some graduands only sought the licence to teach. This was probably because they could not afford expense of the doctorate as well.

Yet most of the graduands at Siena received their doctorates immediately after they got their licences. This brings us to the final part of the process: the public examination or *conventus*. Theoretically the doctorand, at this point called the *licentiatus*, could be questioned by those present. However, in practice the *conventus* was merely ceremonial. The doctorand received the doctoral insignia from one or more of his promoters. The insignia consisted of a book, a gold ring, and a cap (*birretum*). The book contained the main texts which the doctor was to teach, and it was presented to him twice. First, it was presented to him closed. This symbolised the knowledge which the book contained. Secondly, it was presented to him open. This symbolised the teaching which the doctor would undertake. The gold ring symbolised the marriage between the doctor and his subject. The cap was ‘a sign of glory’ and it distinguished the doctor at ceremonies. The newly-declared doctor also received a benediction and the kiss of peace from his promotor. In the fifteenth century the *conventus* at the Studio senese often concluded with an oration (*loculenta oratio*) delivered by one of the promoters.²⁷ But it is not clear whether this tradition continued in the sixteenth century.

²⁶ See Chapter Four, n. 36.

²⁷ For these orations, see Gianfranco Fioravanti, *Università e città: cultura umanistica e cultura scolastica a Siena nel Quattrocento* (Florence, 1981), pp. 97–98.

Surveying the examination and graduation processes in Pisa and Siena, we can see how they relate to the three stages of the rites of passage as defined by Van Gennep. First, the presentation to the vicar general separated the graduand from his fellow students. Secondly, the kiss of peace represented the doctorand and the promotor as being united in a moment of social equality. Thirdly, the awarding of the insignia incorporated the new doctor into a new community. The kiss of peace and the ring may be particularly significant.²⁸ For, as Muir has argued, "The physical act alone accomplished the transition. This demand for bodily involvement characterised all rites of passage, indeed all rituals in traditional Europe."²⁹ Finally, the swearing of oaths is clearly a ritual of vassalage.

THE CREATION OF THE RECTOR

The examination process established the authority of the graduate. Elaborate rituals were also used in Siena to support the office of rector, which was revived in 1590 after a vacancy of almost fifty years.³⁰ In the fifteenth century the inauguration of the rector had become increasingly costly. By 1480 a banquet for the rector and his councillors had become traditional and in 1493 a deputation of eight doctors rode on horseback to announce the ceremony.³¹ However, these celebrations pale against those which developed at the end of the sixteenth century, which may indicate the need for rituals to bolster the rectorate. But what were these rituals and how can they be interpreted?

There are several sources for the election and installation of the rector. First, we have the text of the reform of 1591.³² Secondly, there are the *Capitoli del Rettore*.³³ Thirdly, the records of the Consiglio Generale depict ten elections and installations between 1591 and 1609. These depictions were written by the officer who administered the rector's oath, the notaio (later the coauditore) del segretario delle leggi.³⁴ Finally,

²⁸ For the kiss of peace, see now Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden, 2003).

²⁹ Muir, *Ritual*, p. 37.

³⁰ For the revival of the rectorate, see Chapter Three, nn. 103–104.

³¹ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 263.

³² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 285–294 (pp. 287–288).

³³ ASS, Studio 1bis.

³⁴ For the installation of 3 June 1591, see ASS, CG 247, fol. 33v. For the installa-

we have very detailed descriptions of the elections and installations of the rector in 1614, 1616, and 1623, as the office entered a period of decadent decline. These descriptions were produced in 1717 by Galgano Bichi, who based them on documents in the public archive of Siena.³⁵ Since, by and large, these sources reveal only minor variations in the process and the key elements are clear, this discussion will be based on the most detailed description, that written by the chancellor of the student-university of the election and installation of Gian Cristoforo Galler da Graz in 1614. However, care will be taken to note any significant differences from the ritual described in the 1591 reform and the *Capitoli del Rettore* and from the practice of earlier inaugurations.

The process began on 12 January with the election of the rector in the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo della Signoria, now the Palazzo Pubblico. Apart from the councillors of the student guild, senior government and judicial figures were present, including the Signoria, the capitano del popolo, and the capitano di giustizia. In all fifty-eight men were present. The chancellor of the student-university read out the statutes regarding the election of the rector. Three men were named as candidates and a vote was taken using lupin seeds. Gian Cristoforo Galler received all of the white seeds.

The councillors then went to find him and a description is given of the clothes Galler was wearing when he was located. He accepted his nomination and invitations were given to meet later for the usual celebrations at the house of the rector. That evening the councillors and many students went from the shop of the beadle to the rector's house. Six servants carried six torches. Everyone shouted, "Viva, viva il Signor Rettore" and they made signs of joy. The rector received them in his room, where a sumptuous banquet had been prepared. There were so many people that the room, the staircase, and the lobby were full. They stayed there awhile and then left to make a fine procession, shouting all the time "Viva, viva il Signor Rettore". They treated the people they met well and there were excellent wines. The students and

tion of 1 June 1592, see ASS, CG 247, fols. 344v–345v. For the installation of 3 Nov. 1593, see ASS, CG 247, fols. 368r–368v. For the installation of 24 Dec. 1600, see ASS, CG 248, fol. 90v. For the installation of 13 Dec. 1601, see ASS, CG 248, fol. 105r. For the installation of 2 Jan. 1603, see ASS, CG 248, fol. 120r. For the installation of 3 Dec. 1603, see ASS, CG 248, fol. 129v. For the installation of 3 Nov. 1606, see ASS, CG 248, fol. 158v. For the installation of 22 Jan. 1608, see ASS, CG 248, fol. 174r. For the installation of 29 Jan. 1609, see ASS, CG 248, fol. 187r.

³⁵ ASS, Manoscritti D64.

the councillors, with drums and trumpets, continued this until the hour of three at night.

A variety of celebrations took place between the election and the installation of the rector. On 13 January Galler chose the usual guests and the councillors went to meet him. They sat and decided to make a serra. But, since time was short, they realised they could only make a half serra or masquerade and they elected a captain and other officers. That evening there were lots of fireworks outside Galler's house with trumpets, drums, dances, and many signs of rejoicing, including the continual shouting of "Viva, viva il Signor Rettore". On the evening of 14 January the same students, pretending to be foreigners, organised more fireworks, and signs of joy, with noise and dancing. On the fourth day the rector and the councillors decided that a play should be staged. It was to be written by Ubaldino Malavolti, who was a knight. After a long discussion, the rector announced that he would pay for the play to be performed.

The installation of the rector took place on 21 January. The student councillors, the deputati di balia sopra lo studio, and many professors and students fetched the rector from his house. A detailed description is given of Galler's clothes and also what his four attendants wore. They then went to the chapel of the Virgin in the Palazzo della Signoria where a sacred oration was given. Following this, they retired to the Sala di Balia to await the arrival of the executive, the Signoria. Then the rector, wearing his garments, returned to the chapel. He went to the prie-dieu which had been prepared for him, on the right-hand side at the end of the area where the Signoria was located. A short oration was given, the mass began, and it included music. On the left-hand side of the rector sat the councillor of the German nation, an indication of the importance of German students in Siena, who included the new rector. The hymn *Veni Creator* and the *Te Deum* were sung. The notary of the Balia then administered the oath whereby the rector swore that he was a student without a doctorate, that he was at least twenty-two years of age, that his parents were legitimately married, and that he would be diligent in developing the Studio. After a few words, the capitano del popolo placed the brocade hood on the rector's left shoulder. Everyone then went to the Sala del Mappamondo, where they sat in the places assigned to them. The councillor of the German nation had his own seat, separate from the others. Someone (who is not named but who was probably a student) made an oration. The rector gave thanks briefly in Latin before leaving the room with the Signoria.

The inauguration of Galler differs in some important respects both from the ceremony envisaged in the 1591 reform and the *Capitoli del Rettore* and from earlier installations. According to the *Capitoli*, the day should begin with the professors, the deputati di balia, and all the students meeting at the Palazzo della Signoria, where they were to be greeted by the governor of Siena. During the ceremony the new rector was to receive the insignia from his predecessor, who would also deliver the oration. It seems clear that this was intended to emphasise the continuity of the office. However, there is no evidence that the outgoing rector took part in the installation of his successor. Vacancies in the office in 1594/95, from 1596 to 1600, and from 1604 to 1606 explain some of the absences but the causes of the others are unclear.³⁶ Moreover, following the vacancy from 1596 to 1600, there are no further references to the governor being present. The reasons for his absence are also unknown. In the early years of the seventeenth century the governor, or his substitute the auditore, was sometimes openly critical of the rector but the relationship between the capitano del popolo and the rector could also be tense and the capitano continued to participate in installations.³⁷

After Galler's installation, he returned to his house, accompanied by magistrates, professors, students, and other nobles in great numbers. Drums and trumpets were played. A sumptuous meal was given which finished with confections of every kind being distributed. They were served by twenty students, whose clothes are described, twelve of whom were from the Casa della Sapienza. When night fell, there were more fireworks outside the rector's house. Numerous rockets were fired and there were many other signs of celebration.

The inauguration of the rector was marked by celebrations which continued for a further fortnight. On 22 January guests were chosen for a second banquet, which would be held the following day. In the evening a student organised fireworks, drums, and trumpets outside the house of the Signoria. Drink was given to everyone who wanted it. The second banquet was not as grand as the first. The guests included professors, the councillors, the chamberlain of the student-university, and many Sienese citizens. That evening students from Lucca organised

³⁶ For the vacancies, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 343.

³⁷ For relations between the governor, the capitano, and the rector, see Chapter Six, n. 92.

more fireworks outside the rector's house with further rockets being ignited. Again, they were accompanied by trumpets, drums, and other signs of rejoicing. On 26 January the rector invited the councillor of the German nation with other German barons, lords, and nobles to another feast where they were served by many young men and there was every kind of food in abundance along with fine wines. On 29 January it was decided to hold a masquerade since no-one could be found who wished to lead a *serra*. Two men were charged with finding the theme of the masquerade. On 9 February the "usual play" was staged. It was watched attentively and many noble Sienese ladies were in the audience. The rector was also present and he sat in a chair over the stage. He had agreed to pay for everything, including a meal for the ladies, and his courtesy was much admired.

The installation established Galler's authority as rector. However, ironically the celebrations associated with the ceremony undermined that very authority. Following the contemporary description of his inauguration, Bichi noted in 1717 that the festivities in 1614 had cost 10,000 scudi and that the rector had returned home to Graz before paying. Galler's father sent the *Balia* a letter of apology since his son had not behaved as he should have. To give an idea of the scale of the expense, the entire teaching budget of the *Studio senese* was only 2,600 scudi.³⁸

What anthropological meanings could be found in the installation of the rector? It relates to the three stages of the rites of passage as defined by Van Gennep. First, the presentation to the *Signoria* separated the rector from his fellow students. Secondly, the mass temporarily suspended the rector between his old and new state, providing an experience of the sacred. Thirdly, the placing of the brocade hood incorporated the rector into a new community. In addition, the oath-taking may be interpreted as a ritual of vassalage. Furthermore, we should note that the installations of 1608, 1609, and 1614 took place during Carnival and that the banquets, fireworks, masques, and plays were carnivalesque activities. The emphasis on food and wine is also characteristic of rites of incorporation.

³⁸ See Chapter Three, n. 68.

NON-ACADEMIC RITUALS

Although not an academic ritual, Carnival involved students at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese in various rites of violence which can be seen as attempts to control the aggression which was central to masculine identity. Dangerous sports were popular at Pisa and their importance can be seen from a request made to Cosimo in 1545. The councillors of the student-university wished to host some “fine games” but, lacking resources, they asked the duke for help.³⁹ The games included a battle in boats on the Arno and a giostra dell’anello in Piazza Santa Caterina, when riders had to put their lances through a ring.⁴⁰

Bullfights had been held regularly in Pisa in the early sixteenth century and they were revived following the reopening of the Studio in 1543.⁴¹ A dispute arose in 1568 when the commissario of Pisa refused the students permission to host a bullfight even though they had already gone to great expense to arrange it. The problem was that the knights of the Order of Santo Stefano wanted to host a festival in the same piazza. The students appealed to Francesco to intervene but by the time he dealt with the matter Lent had begun and he thought a bullfight was inappropriate. The students’ frequent disturbances during Carnival had also weakened their case.⁴² The popularity of bullfighting at the Studio pisano is unsurprising since the Spaniards and Portuguese constituted the largest community of non-Italian students in the city.⁴³ However, its importance cannot be compared to that at the Spanish universities where the killing of a bull became a requirement of graduation.⁴⁴

³⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A II 2, fol. 75v, 4 Feb. 1545.

⁴⁰ For the river battle, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A II 2, fol. 75r, 3 Feb. 1545. For the giostra dell’anello, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A II 2, fols. 76r–76v, 10 Feb. 1545.

⁴¹ For bullfights at the Studio pisano, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A II 1, fol. 20r, 27 Apr. 1520; fol. 43r, 29 Jan. 1524; fol. 51r, 20 Feb. 1525; ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A II 3, fols. 3r–3v, 12 Feb. 1547. Bullfights were also held in Venice, see Robert C. Davis, “The Trouble with Bulls: The *Cacce dei Tori* in Early Modern Venice,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 29 (1996): 275–290.

⁴² ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 42r–42v, 25 Feb. 1568; fols. 42v–43r, 1 Mar. 1568; fol. 43r, 5 Mar. 1568.

⁴³ For the size of the Spanish nation, see Volpi, “Il corpo studentesco,” pp. 402, 463.

⁴⁴ In order to receive the full title of doctor at the University of Salamanca, students had to kill a bull in the paseo doctoral, see Frijhoff, “Graduation and Careers,” p. 356. For bullfighting in Spain, see Timothy Mitchell, *Blood Sport: A Social History of Spanish Bullfighting* (Philadelphia, 1991).

During the Carnival of 1560 the *gioco del maglio* was played. This involved hitting a ball with an iron-tipped mallet. Given the inevitable dangers, it is perhaps unsurprising that one of the students was arrested and imprisoned by the commissario of Pisa. However, this resulted in Cosimo's angry denunciation of the commissario's actions and his strong defence of students' privileges, which he believed essential in attracting scholars to the Studio in which he had invested heavily with money and effort.⁴⁵

There is less evidence for masquerades at the Studio pisano but we do know that an invasion of the Sapienza in Pisa by masked students led to a riot with galley slaves during the Carnival of 1549.⁴⁶ In contrast, masquerades and plays were common in Siena where there was a tradition of academic drama which would later influence Shakespeare amongst other playwrights. For example, *Twelfth Night* is based on *Gl'Ingannati*, which was written by members of the Accademia degli Intronati and performed during the Carnival of 1532. Students staged *Gli Scambi* by Belisario Bulgarini in 1575, *I Servi Nobili* by Ubaldino Malavolti in 1603, *La Nanna* by Annibale Lomeri between 1606 and 1625, and in 1614 Malavolti's *La Menzogna*, which was dedicated to the rector Gian Cristoforo Galler.⁴⁷

Masquerades could have a darker side since they were linked to the tradition of the *serra*. It was usual at the beginning of Carnival for masked students to walk through the streets of Siena collecting money to pay for their festivities. As they went, they cried "*serra! serra!*" ("shut! shut!"). This referred to the ancient custom of shutting streets to a wedding procession until the father of the bride paid the 'shutters'.⁴⁸ The *serra* of 1565 developed into a major riot between the students

⁴⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A I 3, fols. 77v–78r, 3 Mar. 1560.

⁴⁶ See Chapter Six, n. 43.

⁴⁷ For academic drama in Siena, see Karen Newman, "*Gl'Ingannati* and Shakespeare's Romantic Comedy," *Stanford Italian Review* 3 (1983): 201–211; *Teatro goliardico senese*, ed. Giuliano Catoni and Sergio Galluzzi (Siena, 1985), pp. 17–32; Giuliano Catoni, "Il carnevale degli scolari. Feste e spettacoli degli studenti senesi dal XVI al XVIII secolo," in *Scritti per Mario delle Piane* (Naples, 1986), pp. 23–37; Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven, 1989); Louise George Clubb and Robert Black, *Romance and Aretine Humanism in Sienese Comedy, 1516: Pollastra's "Parthenio" at the Studio di Siena* (Florence, 1993); and Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare Sources* (London, 2001), pp. 192–196.

⁴⁸ For the tradition of the *serra*, see Catoni, "Il carnevale," pp. 31–33. Contemporary depictions of masked students celebrating Carnival in Siena are reproduced in Catoni, "Le riforme del granduca," p. 49.

and the friars of the convent of Sant'Agostino. Two men were killed and many others were injured.⁴⁹

Subsequent instances of the *serra* were not fatal but they still contained elements of aggressive masculinity. For example, in 1584 the students dressed up as greengrocers and asked the ladies of Siena to sample their produce. The *serra* of 1590 included a cart on which the Mount of Virtue was represented. At the top of the Mount was a prominent and clearly phallic palm tree. For the *serra* held in 1594 the students pretended to be escaped slaves. Perhaps this was also the theme of the masquerade which led to the riot between students and galley slaves at the Studio pisano in 1549?⁵⁰

Only once did the transgressive nature of the *serra* extend to a contemporary topic when the 1589 reform of the Studio senese was a theme of the *serra* held the following year. The masquerade represented Reason accompanied by the emotions, which, having awoken from the sleep of their errors, were once again subject to Reason's just rule. The ladies of Siena were invited to love the students whose behaviour had been characterised by lust, gameplaying, and idleness but who now sought through Reason to achieve the triumphal laurels of the reformed Studio.⁵¹

⁴⁹ For the riot, see Chapter Six, n. 51.

⁵⁰ For the poems produced for these *serra*, see Catoni, "Il carnevale," p. 32, n. 28.

⁵¹ Catoni, "Il carnevale," p. 33.

CHAPTER SIX

VIOLENCE AND DISORDER

Whilst travelling in Italy in 1596 and 1597, Sir Robert Dallington observed two ways in which quarrels were settled. For minor offences,

...the party wronged (if not in some high degree) will challenge the other to fight, if they be both provided it is presently undertaken, otherwise it is deferred till the next day, or some such short date; the place appointed is commonly in the Cittie, and in the chiefest streete: here they encounter with a good Scull under their hattes, a large Maile to their knee under their apparell, besides their Gauntlet; so that if they had a Supersedeas for their face, and would doe as the boyes doe in England (barre striking at shinnes) or as the Schollers of Padoa, who have plates for this purpose: no doubt but Dametas and Clinias might thus make a tal fray. I saw two gallants in Pisa fight thus completely provided, where after a very furious encounter, and a most mercilesse shredding and slashing of their apparrell, with a most desperate resolution to cut one another out of his clothes; They were (to the saving of many a stitch) parted, and by mediation with much adoe made friends.

Dallington also witnessed the widespread practice of the vendetta, for which the injured party,

...will waite an oportunitie seaven yeares, but he will take you at the advantage, or else doe it by some others, whom he will hire for the purpose. In this sort were two slaine in Pisa while I was there, the one a rich Marchant, the other a Knight of the Order [of Santo Stefano], the one comming from his whore, the other going thether. Two also in Siena in seaven dayes. And at my comming hither to Venice, (for this is generall through all Italie) there were on Shrove-sunday at night seaventeene slaine, and very many wounded: besides that they there reported, there was almost every night one slaine, all that Carnevale time.¹

Dallington's testimony raises important issues about the nature and level of violence in sixteenth-century Italy which will merit detailed discussion. Neither type of fight followed the rules set out by contemporary experts on the duel.² This supports the argument that the popularity

¹ Dallington, *Survey*, pp. 64–65. For Dallington, see Chapter One, n. 7.

² This was noted by Donald Weinstein, "Fighting or Flyting? Verbal Duelling in mid

of duelling in the Italian states decreased steeply in the course of the sixteenth century, partly because of the anti-duelling decree of the final session of the Council of Trent in 1564 and partly due to the increasingly abstract treatment of the duel.³ However, although duelling declined, informal violence did not. Like the rest of Italy, grand ducal Tuscany was a violent society and its brutality embraced the grand dukes and their families, both as culprits and victims.⁴

Students were often involved in the bloodshed and disorder. In his discussion of student violence in early modern Italy, Paul Grendler records the view of the governor of Padua, who wrote in 1609 that students were the worst transgressors because they had little sense and no property. Either as outsiders or as natives supported by their families, they lacked a sense of responsibility.⁵ Grendler attributes part of the responsibility for the violence to the students themselves. Often without supervision and attending few lectures, they were young men with time to spare and some turned to fighting. He is also critical of

sixteenth-century Italy,” in *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge, 1994): pp. 204–220 (p. 214). Any pretence to duelling is undercut by Dallington’s allusion to the parodic duel of the clowns Dametas and Clinias in Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*, Book 2, Chapter 13. For the practice and theory of duelling in the Italian states, see Giorgio Enrico Levi and Jacopo Gelli, *Bibliografia del duello* (Milan, 1903); Giorgio Enrico Levi, *Il duello giudiziario. Enciclopedia e bibliografia* (Florence, 1932); Giancarlo Angelozzi, “La trattatistica su nobiltà ed onore a Bologna nei secoli XVI e XVII,” *Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna* 25/26 (1974/75): 187–264; Francesco Erspamer, *La biblioteca di Don Ferrante: duello e onore nella cultura del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1982); Marco Cavina, “Gli albori di un ‘diritto’: profili del duello cavalleresco a metà del Cinquecento,” *Studi Senesi* 97 (1985): 399–429; Giancarlo Angelozzi, “Il duello nella trattatistica italiana della prima metà del XVI secolo,” in *Modernità: definizioni ed esercizi*, ed. Albano Biondi (Bologna, 1998), pp. 9–32; Giancarlo Angelozzi, “La proibizione del duello: Chiesa e ideologia nobiliare,” in *Il concilio di Trento e il moderno*, ed. Paolo Prodi and Wolfgang Reinhard (Bologna, 1996), pp. 271–308; David Quint, “Duelling and Civility in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” *I Tatti Studies* 7 (1997): 231–275; Giuseppe Monorchio, *Lo specchio del cavaliere. Il duello nella trattatistica e nell’epica rinascimentale* (Ottawa, 1998); Claudio Donati, “La trattatistica sull’onore e il duello tra Cinquecento e Seicento: tra consenso e censura,” *Studia Borromaeica* 14 (2000): 39–56; Claudio Donati, “A Project of ‘Expurgation’ by the Congregation of the Index: Treatises on Duelling,” in *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Frangnito et al., trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 134–162; Donald Weinstein, *The Captain’s Concubine: Love, Honor and Violence in Renaissance Tuscany* (Baltimore, 2001); Marco Cavina, *Il duello giudiziario per punto d’onore. Genesi, apogeo e crisi nell’elaborazione dottrinale italiana (secc. XIV–XVI)* (Turin, 2003); and Marco Cavina, *Il sangue dell’onore. Storia del duello* (Bari, 2005).

³ Weinstein, “Fighting or Flying?” pp. 214–216.

⁴ See Introduction, n. 10.

⁵ Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 500–501.

the student-universities which, he believes, “exerted little disciplinary authority; indeed, they engaged in practices that made matters worse.” Grendler believes that the local governments also have to shoulder some of the blame. He suggests that contempt for law and order was encouraged by their failure to address teaching abuses or to enforce residence requirements. Moreover, as enrollments fell, governments were reluctant to confiscate swords and guns in case students left, damaging the local economies. In addition, he argues that city authorities lacked the police resources to quell student disorder. Therefore, a certain amount of violence was accepted, even if other students and the townspeople had to suffer. Finally, whilst acknowledging that student violence had always been a problem, Grendler posits that it became more common and more lethal in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries and that this was “a product of the times.”⁶

These arguments deserve careful consideration. The suggestion that students were more violent than other groups is problematic. The governor of Padua was clear in his views but are they accurate? Even if they are, can they be extrapolated to other Italian university towns? Nevertheless, one does need to examine the relationship between universities and violence.

There is substantial evidence of violence and disorder involving students and professors at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese. This evidence merits detailed investigation but important points are already clear. The motives for the conflict and unrest include the creation of masculinity, honour codes, and national identities. Professors as well as students engaged in violence and disorder which were both interpersonal and collective. Insults, assaults, and murders involved both individuals and groups. Riots were also characteristic of collective conflict. The authorities did try to control the disorder. But their attitudes were sometimes inconsistent and there is also evidence that their actions exacerbated the situation, especially their intermittent support of rights to bear arms. These rights were frequently challenged by magistrates, some of whom were aware that they conflicted with other legislation. Thus an analysis of violence at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese offers further proof of the contradictions within the institutions of the grand duchy.

⁶ Grendler, *The Universities*, pp. 500–501, 505.

LEVELS

Violence has always played an important part in the development of universities. For example, in 1209 the hanging of two Oxford students for the murder or manslaughter of a woman led to a migration of the scholars and the foundation of the University of Cambridge.⁷ However, assessing the levels of violence involving students and professors is difficult. Until recently there was a consensus that university towns were the most lawless and turbulent places of the later Middle Ages. But this is hard to substantiate and doubts over statistics, the actual role of students and professors, and the value of statutes as evidence have led to revisionism.⁸ Yet the arguments of the revisionists are also problematic. They describe the historian's task as "a wretched one" because of the paucity of sources for the medieval period but they dismiss the available evidence as "anecdotal" and "haphazard".⁹ Despite the difficulties with the data, they are willing to argue that, "...we need to recognise the picture of student excess—pleasure, amorous adventures, dice, dancing and drink—for what it is: 'the distorted product of cautionary tales'".¹⁰

Without knowing the extent of university violence and disorder in the Middle Ages, it is difficult to support arguments that it became more

⁷ Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, Vol. 3, pp. 33–34, 276. The comparative history of university violence remains to be written. Although the development of student resistance is traced in Mark Edelman Boren, *Student Resistance: A History of the Unruly Subject* (London, 2001), this is only one aspect of university violence. For discussions of particular places and particular times, see Rashdall, *The Universities*, Vol. 3, pp. 353–385; R. L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 1974), p. 219; Carl I. Hammer, "Patterns of Homicide in a Medieval University Town: Fourteenth-Century Oxford," *Past and Present* 78 (1978): 1–23; Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, "La violence des étudiants à Toulouse à la fin du XV et au XVI siècle (1460–1610)," *Annales du Midi Toulouse* 94 (1982): 245–262; J. I. Catto, "Citizens, Scholars and Masters," in *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto (Oxford, 1984), pp. 151–193 (pp. 152–154, 184); Hans Joachim Hahn, *Education and Society in Germany* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 58–60, 68–69; Haugen, "Imagined Universities," 1–31; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 93–126; and Rebecca Friedman, *Masculinity, Autocracy, and the Russian University, 1804–1863* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 53–74. For analyses of contemporary university violence, see *Violence on Campus: Defining the Problems, Strategies for Action*, ed. Allan M. Hoffman, John H. Schuh, and Robert H. Fenske (Gaithersburg, 1998); Hank Nuwer, *Wrongs of Passage: Fraternities, Sororities, Hazing and Binge Drinking* (Bloomington, 2001); and *The Hazing Reader*, ed. Hank Nuwer (Bloomington, 2004).

⁸ Trevor Dean, *Crime in Medieval Europe 1200–1550* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 112–114.

⁹ Schwinges, "Student Education," p. 224.

¹⁰ Dean, *Crime in Medieval Europe*, p. 114.

widespread and more lethal in the Italian states in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, that fighting among students, as opposed to between students and townspeople, appears to have increased, and that the readiness to resort to violence seems to have been “a product of the times”. More information on the situation in the early modern Italian universities is also required before firm judgments can be made. There is extensive evidence of violence and disorder involving students and professors at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese but it is not yet clear how typical this was.¹¹

Research indicates that there were in fact fewer murders and man-slaughters in the Italian states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than there had been in the medieval period. It is estimated that per annum there were fifty-six homicides per 100,000 of population in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and seventy-three in the fifteenth century. This fell to forty-seven in the sixteenth century and thirty-two in the first half of the seventeenth century. Despite the drop, these estimates contrast markedly with those in northern Europe. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there were averages of seven and six in England, twenty-five and six in the Netherlands and Belgium, twenty-one and twenty-four in Scandinavia, and eleven in Germany and Switzerland.¹² Given these differences between Italy and northern Europe, it is understandable why Dallington should comment on the number of violent deaths in Pisa, Siena, and Venice.

¹¹ The main sources for violence and disorder at the Studio pisano are the records of the Tribunale dello Studio (ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 1794–1798). The principal sources for the Studio senese are the correspondence of the governor of Siena (ASF, MdP, 1864–1936) and the records of the capitano di giustizia (ASS, Capitano di Giustizia 611–615, 645–649). This evidence will be analysed in my forthcoming monograph, *Violence in Early Modern Italy: The Academic Environment*.

¹² Manuel Eisner, “Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime,” *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 30 (2003): 83–142 (pp. 97, 99). For homicide rates in the Italian states between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, see also Marvin Becker, “Changing Patterns of Violence and Justice in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Florence,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18 (1976): 281–296; Sarah R. Blanshei, “Crime and Law Enforcement in Medieval Bologna,” *Journal of Social History* 16 (1982): 121–138; Peter Blastenbrei, *Kriminalität in Rom, 1560–1586* (Tübingen, 1995); Peter Blastenbrei, “I romani tra violenza e giustizia nel tardo Cinquecento,” *Roma moderna contemporanea* 5 (1997): 67–79; Samuel K. Cohn Jr., “Criminality and the State in Renaissance Florence, 1344–1466,” *Journal of Social History* 14 (1980): 211–233; Mario A. Romani, “Criminalità e giustizia nel ducato di Mantova alla fine del Cinquecento,” *Rivista storica italiana* 92 (1980): 679–706; and Guido Ruggiero, “Law and Punishment in Early Renaissance Venice,” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 69 (1978): 243–256.

MOTIVES

Having accepted that students and professors were engaged in violence and disorder, what were the factors which encouraged their participation beyond the motives suggested by the governor of Padua? It is now clear that issues relating to identity such as masculinity, honour, and nationality were all catalysts for aggression at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese.

The part played by violence in the creation of masculinity has been widely recognised by historians.¹³ Increasingly scholars are emphasising the links between universities, violence, and the formation of masculinity. Although much of this research focuses on the medieval period, its arguments may also be applied to early modern universities given the similarities in the structures of institutions and the forms of teaching. According to Ruth Karras:

...the acquisition of masculinity...was primarily a matter of proving oneself against others, [and] nowhere was this more true than in the single-sex environment of the university...education was to give [a young man] the skills to compete verbally against other educated men, to prove his superiority over the uneducated...The universities developed their own model of masculinity, distinct from the aristocratic knightly model although related to it...The university had adopted the notion of masculinity as violent domination of other men, but the violence was metaphorical, using words as weapons.¹⁴

Central to the development of this masculinity was the disputation, one of the main methods of teaching both in medieval and early modern universities. The adversarial or agonistic nature of the disputation was noted by Walter Ong who argued that scholars engaged in a kind of ceremonial combat, defending a thesis against attackers, at first their teachers and later their academic rivals.¹⁵ Moreover, William J. Courtenay has observed that the terminology of the disputation was the same as that of the duel: *impugnatio*, *adumbratio*, and *evasio*.¹⁶ As

¹³ For useful introductions to this research, see *Men and Violence. Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, ed. Pieter Spierenburg (Columbus, 1998) and *Cultures of Violence: Interpersonal Violence in Historical Perspective*, ed. Stuart Carroll (Basingstoke, 2007).

¹⁴ Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 67–68, 91.

¹⁵ Walter Ong, *Fighting for Life: Contest, Sexuality, and Consciousness* (Ithaca, 1981), pp. 118–148.

¹⁶ William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 29–30.

early as the twelfth century some scholars saw themselves in this light; Peter Abelard declared that "I preferred the weapons of dialectic to all the other teachings of philosophy, and armed with these I chose the conflicts of disputation instead of the trophies of war".¹⁷

The parallels between academic debate and knightly combat were certainly recognised in sixteenth-century Tuscany. This is unsurprising given that Pisa was the seat not only of the Studio pisano but also of the chivalric Order of Santo Stefano.¹⁸ But it was not felt necessary to prefer one type of contest to the other as is clear from a fight in Pisa in 1567. A graduate of the Studio, Matteo Morteo, and three knights of the Order, Giovan Francesco Guidoboni, Giovan Antonio Gigli, and Cristoforo Maurizi, argued whether those wearing a doctoral gown should have precedence in public ceremonies over those without gowns, even if they were graduates. Morteo used literary and legal references to argue his case, much to the irritation of Guidoboni, who said that knights were used to defending their ideas with arms rather than with letters. Morteo replied that he was ready to support his beliefs with either letters or arms. Having left the city by the Porta Nuova, the men attacked each other with such ferocity that serious injuries were only avoided by the brave intervention of bystanders.¹⁹

Honour was revered by both knights and scholars and the key role of insults in causing violent conflicts in medieval and early modern societies has been widely recognised. Indeed, insult formed an important category of criminal offences, which were frequently tried and punished with severe fines. This is unsurprising since honour was regarded as a significant symbolic and economic resource which had to be legally protected and publicly regulated.²⁰ Its value was shown when Lelio

¹⁷ Peter Abelard and Héloïse, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁸ For the Order of Santo Stefano, see Chapter One.

¹⁹ Del Gratta, "Problemi giurisdizionali," p. 96.

²⁰ Eisner, "Long-Term Historical Trends," p. 129. For honour in the Italian states, see the works cited in n. 2 and the following studies: Frederic Robertson Bryson, *The Point of Honor in Sixteenth-Century Italy: An Aspect of the Life of the Gentleman* (New York, 1935); Giancarlo Angelozzi, "Cultura dell'onore, codici di comportamento nobiliari e Stato nella Bologna pontificia: un'ipotesi di lavoro," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 8 (1982): 305–324; Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, 1993); Sharon T. Strocchia, "Gender and the Rites of Honor in Italian Renaissance Cities," in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (London, 1998), pp. 39–60; Claudio Povolo, *L'intrigo dell'onore. Poteri e istituzioni nella Repubblica di Venezia nel Cinque e Seicento* (Verona, 1997); Marco Bellabarba, "Honour, Discipline and the State: Nobility and Justice in Italy, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," in *Institutionen, Instrumente und Akteure sozialer Kontrolle und Disziplinierung im*

Torelli, the *auditore dello studio pisano*, advised the vicerector of the Studio to imprison Giovan Battista Gatteschi da Pistoia for calling the vicerector of the Sapienza a liar. Torelli suggested prison as these were not matters to be treated lightly.²¹ However, not all arguments were settled so peacefully. For example, in 1601 a Siense citizen murdered a Polish student for reasons of honour. In this case, the authorities reacted toughly: the *capitano di giustizia* immediately imprisoned the accused and Ferdinando approved the use of torture.²² But retributive violence was often seen as an acceptable means to maintain one's honour.²³ According to Annibale Roero, who studied law at Pavia from 1596 to 1602, students had to carry swords if they wished to be respected. Since refusal to do so would lead to them being forced to flee the university as cowards, Roero encouraged them to spend months fencing.²⁴ As we shall see, there were frequent requests for permission for students to bear arms; requests that were often granted despite the inevitable risks of violence.

National identities were another cause of violence and disorder, particularly at the Studio senese which had a large population of students from north of the Alps. The files of correspondence between the governor of Siena and the Medici court are full of records of fights and other disorders involving German students. Many of these concern Germans brawling with Poles and the hatred between the two nations led to inju-

frühneuzeitlichen Europa—Institutions, Instruments and Agents of Social Control in Early Modern Europe, ed. Heinz Schilling (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), pp. 225–248; Claudio Donati, “La trattatistica,” 39–56; Trevor Dean, “Gender and Insult in an Italian city: Bologna in the Later Middle Ages,” *Social History* 29 (2004): 217–231; and Trevor Dean, *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 113–134. For honour in the Mediterranean generally, see *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, ed. David D. Gilmour (Washington, DC, 1987); Claude Chauchadis, *Honneur, morale et société dans l’Espagne de Philippe II* (Paris, 1984); Claude Chauchadis, *La loi du duel. Le code du point d’honneur dans l’Espagne des XVI–XVII siècles* (Toulouse, 1997); and Various, “Honour: Identity and Ambiguity of an Informal Code (The Mediterranean, 12th–20th Centuries),” *Acta Histriae* 9 (2000).

²¹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 9v–10r, 11r, 1 June 1570 and 3 June 1570.

²² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 141.

²³ Eisner, “Long-Term Historical Trends,” p. 129. It was believed that the weapons themselves contained honour. In October 1592 the governor of Siena sought to castigate the student who had dirtied the weapon of a Polish noble, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 135.

²⁴ Annibale Roero, *Lo scolare dialoghi del sig. Annibale Roero, l’angusto intento. Ne’ quali con piacevole stilo à pieno s’insegna il modo di fare eccellente riuscita ne’ più gravi studij, & la maniera di procedere honoratamente* (Pavia, 1604), p. 133. The relevant passage is quoted and discussed in Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 501.

ries and deaths.²⁵ Violence between German and Sienese students was also common. For example, a group led by the count of Hanau fought local students, who included the son of the governor. In trying to settle the dispute, the capitano di giustizia was injured and when the count went to protest at the palace of the governor he was himself attacked by the governor's bodyguard.²⁶ National identity also sparked disorder at the Studio pisano. Lessons were interrupted by students who wished a holiday to be declared for the feast of Saint Barbara (4 December), which was a popular festival in the German states.²⁷

FORMS

Violence and disorder at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese was interpersonal and collective. Insults, assaults, and murders involved both individuals and groups. However, collective conflict also included riots. Furthermore, professors as well as students were engaged in these activities, a point which is often overlooked in discussions of university violence and disorder.

Insults were traded regularly between students and several of these incidents required the intervention of the rector of the Studio pisano.²⁸ The rector also had to step in when there was verbal abuse between students and other groups. For example, in 1585 he had to settle a dispute involving Antonio and Pietro Traversari da Portico di Romagna and the brothers and sons of the knight Michelangelo Segni.²⁹ Occasionally the rector was himself verbally abused. In 1566 Girolamo Guidotti complained that he had found a young man in a purple cloak

²⁵ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 127. For the correspondence, see ASF, MdP, 1864–1936.

²⁶ Prunai, "Lo Studio senese," p. 128.

²⁷ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 35r–35v, 12 Dec. 1566.

²⁸ For the quarrel between Benedetto Conversini da Pistoia and Bartolomeo Ricciardi da Pistoia, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 66v, 26 June 1581. For the clash between Francesco Sernigi da Firenze and Ristoro Molinelli da Firenze, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 92r, 4 May 1594. For the argument between Giovanni Cancellari da Pistoia and Stefano Ghini da Prato, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 95v, 20 Jan. 1596. For the dispute between Filippo Scarpelli da Pistoia and Lodovico Gherardi da Pistoia, both scholars of the Collegio Ferdinando, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 97r, 10 Feb. 1597. For the quarrel between Francesco Tolomei da Pietrasanta and Giuseppe Dalli da Lucca, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 101v, 28 Feb. 1601.

²⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 76r–76v, 26 Apr. 1585.

usurping his usual place in church. After an unpleasant argument, it emerged that he was the rector of the *Studio pisano*. Guidotti asked Francesco de' Medici for a clarification of his rights and privileges in this situation.³⁰ In 1569 and 1570 it was the rector's turn to ask for Francesco's help when he and other students were insulted by police officers (*sbirri del bargello*).³¹

The knights of the Order of Santo Stefano also slandered the students of the *Studio pisano*. On the evening of 24 April 1565 two students, the Conte da San Secondo and Orazio Pancrazi da Barga, visited the knight Fabrizio Vialardi da Milano in the Palazzo dei Cavalieri. Vialardi greeted them with harsh words and threw a glove at them. Weapons were drawn and a large crowd gathered. Other knights intervened and the opponents were separated. Vialardi was tried by the governing body of the Order, the *Consiglio dei Dodici*, which condemned him for the disrespectful words which he had spoken to those who had greeted him. In line with the statutes of the Order, Vialardi was put under house arrest for a week. On the Wednesday and the Friday of that week he was permitted to consume only bread and water and he was obliged to go to the church of the Order where, crawling on his knees to the altar, he had to recite psalms whilst a priest beat him with a rod. Meanwhile, the students were imprisoned by the rector. Despite the importance and dignity of the location where the incident had taken place, he sought to absolve them of any responsibility, ordering them to leave Pisa for one or two months. However, when the rector sought the grand duke's approval for this, Lelio Torelli told him to impose the sanctions set out in the statutes of the student-university.³²

In May 1575 insults led to the most serious clash between the *Studio pisano* and the Order of Santo Stefano. Whilst travelling by carriage with other students along Via Santa Maria one Sunday morning, the rector, Giovanni Ranieri, and the ex-vice-rector, Francesco Limona, were confronted by the knights Alessandro Calcaferri and Luigi della Stufa. Seeing Limona, the knights began to slander him. Limona got out of the carriage and walked towards them, putting his hand on his sword. In the meantime, Ranieri tried to restrain Limona and ordered the *sbirri* who were present to arrest Calcaferri. Della Stufa shouted that

³⁰ ASF, MdP 529a, fol. 537r, 6 July 1566 (MAProj 8864).

³¹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 7v–8r 21 Dec. 1569; fol. 8r 6 Jan. 1570.

³² ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 33v–34r, 25 Apr. 1565; Del Gratta, "Problemi giurisdizionali," pp. 95–96.

the rector had absolutely no jurisdiction over the knights. Having been alerted to what was happening, the grand prior of the Order, Giuliano Gianfigliuzzi, arrived on the scene and managed to quieten the situation. Some days later, Calcaferri came to the Sapienza, from which he was expelled immediately by the rector. News of this incident reached Gianfigliuzzi and Giovanni Tosi, who had recently been appointed both provedditore dello studio and prior of the conventual church of Santo Stefano. Gianfigliuzzi and Tosi hurried to the Sapienza to express their displeasure at the rector's actions and to see whether Calcaferri's behaviour merited punishment by the Order. The rector replied simply that he "was master of the Sapienza and he did not want that knight there". To avoid further difficulties, Gianfigliuzzi advised Calcaferri to leave. Two days later, the rector ordered the closure of one of the two gates of the Sapienza; guards were placed on the other to prevent the entrance of knights. Gianfigliuzzi ordered all the knights of the Order to keep away from the Sapienza but at the same time he wrote to the grand duke to express his consternation at what had happened, given the harmony which had generally existed between the knights and the students. Francesco commanded that the knights should have free access to the Sapienza, with the exception of Calcaferri and della Stufa. They were also forbidden from going near the rector's house until their case was heard. In November 1575 the governing body of the Order, the Consiglio dei Dodici, absolved della Stufa but sentenced Calcaferri to two months' imprisonment. However, the grand duke intervened to order the imprisonment of both knights.³³

It was not only students who became embroiled by insults. In 1593 the rector of the Studio pisano intervened in the quarrel between Giulio Libri da Firenze, the ordinary professor of philosophy, and Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo, the professor of logic.³⁴ In 1597 the rector and the commissario of Pisa were both required to settle the clash between Vittorio Corsini, doctor of philosophy and medicine, his brothers, and sons on one side, and Paolo Corsini, his uncle, brothers, and sons on the other.³⁵ But perhaps the worst argument involving professors at the Studio pisano occurred at an examination in 1575 when the ordinary professor of canon law, Francesco Bertini, irritated at not being named

³³ Del Gratta, "Problemi giurisdizionali," pp. 97–98.

³⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 90v–91r, 15 June 1593.

³⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 97r–97v, 17 Oct. 1597.

promotor, presented two arguments which lasted an hour and which would have been more suited for a professor than for a young man. Following protests from some colleagues, worried that these methods would terrify students and damage the reputation of the Studio, an undignified row broke out which involved Bertini, the prior of the college, and two other professors. Gloves and handkerchiefs were thrown as well as insults.³⁶

As noted, verbal violence was often a prelude to physical assaults. This could involve not only students but also the local population, including distinguished figures, as the case of the count of Hanau and the capitano di giustizia in Siena illustrates. In Pisa the rector was occasionally the target of assault. In 1549 Antonio Frosino da Sicilia was attacked and injured by Cesare Grassi, a student of Giovan Francesco Vegio.³⁷ In 1573 the rector informed Cosimo, Francesco, the auditore dello studio, and the provveditore dello studio that he and his companions had been insulted and injured by soldiers.³⁸

Students and professors were also implicated in murder, both as victims and perpetrators. In March 1575 a Frenchman who had been studying in Siena was struck on the head with a hammer wielded by a bricklayer from Carrara. They had “come to words”.³⁹ The following December a Spanish student in Siena was set alight and stabbed by a tailor who accused him of not respecting religion.⁴⁰ In April 1598 a professor, some students, and one of their servants were arrested for the murder of the nephew of Iacopo Marta da Napoli, the ordinary professor of civil law at Pisa.⁴¹ The following month four students were arrested in Pisa for the murder of Luca degli Albizzi, a Florentine gentleman.⁴²

Apart from insults, assaults, and murders, collective violence at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese included riots. In January 1549 between twenty-five and thirty masked students disrupted teaching at the Sapienza in Pisa, forcing the professors to declare a vacation. The students were then attacked by thirty to forty galley slaves carrying

³⁶ Rossi, *Il Collegio pisano*, pp. 47–48.

³⁷ ASF, MdP 1175, insert 8, fol. 37r, 16 Mar. 1549 (MAProj 13460).

³⁸ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 28v, 21 Jan. 1573.

³⁹ ASS, Capitano di Giustizia 645, fol. 310r, 21 Mar. 1575.

⁴⁰ ASS, Capitano di Giustizia 645, fol. 385r, 20 Dec. 1575.

⁴¹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 98v, 15–18 Apr. 1598.

⁴² ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 99v–100r, 7 May 1598.

pieces of wood and batons.⁴³ A dispute over vacations caused another riot in the Sapienza in Pisa in January 1576, when students destroyed forty-five benches and the disturbance required the intervention of the *sbirri*.⁴⁴ Students celebrated the birth of a male heir to the grand duke on 20 May 1577 by setting fire to the cathedra and benches of the Sapienza in Pisa and this time the rector had to call in the *commisario* of Pisa as well as the *bargello* and the *sbirri*.⁴⁵ The interruption of teaching by students at Pisa also led to complaints to the rector and the *provveditore* from the grand duke and the archbishop of Pisa, who was the chancellor of the *Studio pisano*.⁴⁶

The Sapienza at Siena was also a focus for rioting. In 1601 *auditore* Scipione Naldi described the college as a refuge of rogues and a gambling den. This led to a reform in 1602 which met with fierce resistance from the students who lived there. In 1603 they barricaded the doors of the Sapienza, which was besieged by the *bargello* and a large number of *sbirri*. In 1604 they set fire to the fittings and in 1609 there were serious incidents involving arms as well as noisy interruptions of teaching by students from their rooms above the lecture halls.⁴⁷

Leisure activities and festivals were common catalysts for riots in early modern Europe and they acted as environments for disorder in Pisa and Siena.⁴⁸ In 1560 the *gioco del maglio* was played at the *Studio pisano*. This involved hitting a ball with an iron-tipped mallet and it led to the arrest and imprisonment of one of the students.⁴⁹ In December 1567 one of the regular evening games of football at the *Studio pisano* was followed by a fight between students from Lucca and Barga in which Angelo Balduini da Barga was injured in the arm. The clash was settled by the rector with help from the *commisario* of Pisa.⁵⁰ The disturbances in the Sapienza in Pisa in January 1549 and January

⁴³ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 5v–10r, 15 Jan. 1549 to 4 Feb. 1549.

⁴⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 47v–48r, 23 Jan. 1576.

⁴⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 55v, 21 May 1577.

⁴⁶ For Francesco's complaint to the rector, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 75v–76r, 23 Mar. 1584. For the archbishop's complaint to the *provveditore*, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 99r–99v, 28 Nov. 1598.

⁴⁷ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 132, 319–320, 332–333.

⁴⁸ For festivals and disorder, see Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 163–183. Although focused on medieval England, useful insights can also be found in Chris Humphrey, *The Politics of Carnival: Festive Misrule in Medieval England* (Manchester, 2001).

⁴⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A I 3, fols. 77v–78r, 3 Mar. 1560.

⁵⁰ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 40r–40v, 6–17 Dec. 1567.

1576 the *gioco del maglio* were all linked to Carnival and this was also a key factor in the most serious riot involving students at the Studio senese. As part of the carnivalesque tradition of the *serra*, in January 1565 Sienese and foreign students went to the convent of Sant'Agostino, intending to ask the friars for money. When they arrived, they were pelted with stones and bricks by the friars, who were standing on the roof. A riot broke out and the students stormed the convent, laying it to waste. Two men were killed and many others were injured. According to one eyewitness, the friars behaved as if they were fighting the Turks. The *serra* was suspended and many of the friars and students were imprisoned. Although the father general of the Augustinian Order accepted that the friars had launched a premeditated attack, some of the friars sought to have the case referred to the Inquisition, accusing a group of German students of heresy. The claim was rejected by the governor of Siena.⁵¹

ATTITUDES

What were the attitudes of the student and governmental authorities to the violence and disorder at the Studio pisano and the Studio senese? Whilst it is clear that they sought to control this conflict, it is also evident that they promoted it. This can be seen clearly in the students' regular requests for privileges to bear arms and the government's occasional approval of those requests. Moreover, from time to time the rectors were themselves embroiled in the disorder and their misconduct helped to undermine the rectorate at Siena.

Before examining how the authorities sought to maintain order, it may be helpful to consider the resources which were available to them. The grand duchy did not have a police force until 1765.⁵² In the sixteenth century public order was the responsibility of the officials in charge of the local prisons, the *bargelli*, and their officers, the *sbirri*. Although the number of *sbirri* was limited, it was only at the begin-

⁵¹ For the riot, see ASF, MdP 1870, fol. 3r, 9 Mar. 1564 (MAProj 9225) and Mario Battistini, "Una rissa tra frati e studenti dello Studio senese nel sec. XVI," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 25 (1918): 111–112. For the tradition of the *serra*, see Chapter Five, n. 48.

⁵² For the establishment of the police force, see Carlo Mangio, *La polizia in Toscana. Organizzazione e criteri d'intervento 1765–1808* (Milan, 1988).

ning of the seventeenth century that the militia, the bande, began to be involved.⁵³

The main responsibility for controlling violence and disorder at the Studio pisano lay with the rector. This was understandable given his substantial jurisdiction over those connected with the Studio.⁵⁴ Apart from investigating, trying, and sentencing cases which involved the effusion of blood, the rector intervened personally in other ways.⁵⁵ These interventions included physically separating opponents during riots, as happened when the students fought the galley slaves in 1549 and when the Lucchese and Barchigiani attacked each other after a football game in 1568.⁵⁶ The rector also oversaw the swearing of oaths of peace by adversaries, who could include professors as well as students.⁵⁷ These oaths were supported by securities ranging from 200 to 3,000 scudi in case of infringements within three years involving either the participants or members of their families. When students fled Pisa or when there was a difficulty in raising the security, the rector contacted judicial officers in the students' hometowns.⁵⁸

⁵³ For the maintenance of public order in the sixteenth century, see Elena Fasano Guarini, "Considerazioni su giustizia stato e società nel Ducato di Toscana del Cinquecento," in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations*, ed. Sergio Bertelli, Nicolai Rubinstein, and Craig Hugh Smyth, 2 vols. (Florence, 1980), Vol. 2, pp. 135–168 and Fasano Guarini, "Gli 'ordini di polizia'," pp. 55–96. For the involvement of the bande, see Angiolini, "Le Bande mediche," pp. 26–27.

⁵⁴ For the jurisdiction of the rector, see Chapter Three.

⁵⁵ For the investigation, trying, and sentencing of these crimes, see ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 1794–1798. They will be discussed in my forthcoming monograph, *Violence in Early Modern Italy: the Academic Environment*.

⁵⁶ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 5v–10r, 15 Jan. 1549–4 Feb. 1549; ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 40r–40v.

⁵⁷ Oaths of peace supervised by the rectors of Italian student-universities have not been studied. However, for an analysis of oaths of peace sworn by members of political factions, see Christine Shaw, "Peace-Making Rituals in Fifteenth-Century Siena," *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006): 225–239.

⁵⁸ In 1581 the rector wrote to the commissario of Pistoia regarding a fight between Benedetto Conversini and Bartolomeo Ricciardi. The rector sought to establish peace between them and "to avoid scandals". He understood that they were both in Pistoia, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 66v, 26 June 1581. In 1582 the rector wrote to the commissario of Pistoia asking him to arrest Papiro Pappagalli da Pistoia. The commissario searched more than once for Pappagalli but could not find him. The rector then asked the commissario to publicise the sentence which has been passed on Pappagalli; he had to observe a peace on the penalty of 400 scudi, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 69r–70r, 28 Jan. 1582–5 May 1582. In 1585 the rector informed the commissario of Città di Sole in the Romagna of the quarrel between Antonio and Messer Pietro Traversari da Portico di Romagna and the brothers and sons of Cavaliere Michelangelo Segni. There was a truce with a penalty of 300 scudi

The rectors of the Studio pisano were careful to inform the government authorities of serious outbreaks of violence and disorder and to seek their advice as to how to proceed. Cosimo and the auditore, Lelio Torelli, were told of the riot between the students and the galley slaves.⁵⁹ News of the quarrel between the Conte da San Secondo, Orazio Pancrazi da Barga, and the knight Fabrizio Vialardi was given to Cosimo, Francesco, and Torelli.⁶⁰ When the beadle's office was burgled whilst he attended a doctoral ceremony in 1570, Cosimo was asked to intervene even though he was in semi-retirement.⁶¹ The soldiers' attack

to be applied according to the statutes of the student-university. The rector asked the commissario to return the Traversari to Pisa if he located them, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 76r–76v, 26 Apr. 1585. In 1586 the rector notified the capitano di giustizia in Siena of the fight between Aurelio Tagliacarne da Genova and Fortunato Corti da Siena, both students of law. They had been before the rector who has established a peace with a penalty of 3,000 scudi each. Aurelio had paid the security but Fortunato could not find the money in Pisa. The capitano agreed to enforce the peace. The rector then told the capitano that the same fight had involved Fortunato attacking another student, Quinto d'Otto da Brescia. For this peace, there was an additional penalty of 400 scudi. Quinto had paid but Fortunato had not, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 79r–80r, 17 Sept. 1586–15 Oct. 1586. In 1593 the rector told the commissario of Arezzo of the quarrel between Giulio Libri da Firenze and Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo, who were both professors at the Studio. They had been before the rector and accepted a peace. Within the next eight days they had to give security of 300 scudi. Maurizi found it difficult to raise money and the rector asked the commissario to enforce the peace, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 90v–91r, 15 June 1593. In 1596 the rector informed the commissario of Pistoia of the peace which had been established between Giovanni Cancellari da Pistoia and Stefano Ghini da Prato. The penalty was 300 scudi, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 95v, 20–25 Jan. 1596. In 1597 the rector told the commissario of Pistoia of the peace between Filippo Scarpelli da Pistoia and Lodovico Gherardi da Pistoia, both students living in the Collegio Ferdinando. The penalty was 500 scudi. Scarpelli had left Pisa and the rector asked the commissario to inform either Scarpelli or his family of the details of the peace, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 97r, 10 Feb. 1597. In 1597 the rector wrote to the commissario of Livorno of the peace between Vittorio Corsini, doctor of philosophy and medicine, his brothers and sons on one side, and Paolo Corsini, his uncle and brothers and sons on the other side. The penalty was 200 scudi, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 97r–97v, 17 Oct. 1597. In 1601 the rector asked the capitano of Pietrasanta to tell Francesco Tolomei da Pietrasanta he had ten days to defend himself regarding his quarrel with Giuseppe Dalli da Lucca. Both men were students. The penalty was 400 scudi, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 101v, 28 Feb. 1601–9 Mar. 1601. In 1594, having reached the end of his term of office, the rector asked the Otto di Guardia to enforce the peace between Francesco Sernigi da Firenze and Ristoro Molinelli da Firenze, who were both students. The peace had been broken, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 92r, 4 May 1594.

⁵⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 5v–10r, 15 Jan. 1549–4 Feb. 1549.

⁶⁰ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 33v–34r, 25 Apr. 1565.

⁶¹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 12v, 15 June 1570.

on the rector and his companions in 1572 was of such significance that it was reported to Cosimo, Francesco, Torelli, and the provveditore, Filippo del Migliore.⁶² Francesco was informed of the fight between the professors Camillo Plauzio da Fontanella and Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia, the interruption of lessons by German students, the riot following the football match, the quarrel between Lion Bonfiglio da Genova and the student Damiano Camellini da Genova (whom the rector believed to be innocent), and the riots in the Sapienza in 1576 and 1577.⁶³ Finally, the series of murders which involved professors and students in the spring of 1598 were reported to Ferdinando and the Otto di Guardia.⁶⁴

Although they were consulted regarding serious disturbances at the Studio pisano, the grand dukes played limited and contradictory roles in the control of violence and disorder there. Riots and other collective disorder did concern them but their responses were inconsistent. Cosimo reacted angrily to the fight between students and galley slaves, arguing that the students' mocking behaviour had been provocative and telling them to behave with modesty. When the student-university protested, Cosimo blamed the professors. The colleges of doctors then defended themselves, pointing out that they had in fact sought to pacify the students. Faced with this resistance, Cosimo backed down, saying he hoped that the claims of innocence were true. Nevertheless, he remained sceptical of the students' motives.⁶⁵ Cosimo took a very different view in 1560 when the commissario of Pisa arrested and imprisoned a student who had been playing the *gioco del maglio*. He attacked the commissario's actions, he gave an explicit and important defence of the students' privileges, and he told the commissario to steer clear.⁶⁶ Francesco expressed great displeasure at the 1576 riot in the Sapienza and when he heard of disturbances to teaching in 1584, he

⁶² ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 28v, 28 Jan. 1572.

⁶³ For the fight between Plauzio and Onesti, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 35r, 12 Dec. 1567. For the interruption of lessons by German students, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 35r–35v, 12 Dec. 1567. For the riot following the football match, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 40r–40v, 6–17 Dec. 1567. For the quarrel between Bonfiglio and Camellini, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 5v–6r, 12 Aug. 1569. For the riots in the Sapienza in 1575 and 1577, see ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 47v–48v, 23 Jan. 1575–29 Feb. 1575; fols. 55v–56r, 21–22 May 1577.

⁶⁴ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 98v–100r, 15 Apr. 1598–7 May 1598.

⁶⁵ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 5v–10r, 15 Jan. 1549–4 Feb. 1549.

⁶⁶ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, A I 3, fols. 77v–78r, 3 Mar. 1560.

said he would settle matters with his own hands if necessary.⁶⁷ However, he ordered that no steps be taken against the students who rioted when they heard of the birth of his heir in 1577.⁶⁸

The auditors and the provveditors also had minor parts in managing violence and disorder in Pisa. For example, as we have seen, when Giovan Battista Gatteschi da Pistoia called the vicerektor of the Sapienza a liar, the auditor, Lelio Torelli, argued for his imprisonment.⁶⁹ Francesco's refusal of a licence for the students to hold a bullfight in 1568 was accompanied by criticism from the provveditore, Antonio del Migliore, of the numerous disturbances which had taken place during that year's Carnival.⁷⁰ Del Migliore's successor, Giovanni Tosi, was instructed by Francesco to investigate following the riot in the Sapienza in 1576.⁷¹ Finally, when the archbishop of Pisa wanted to complain about the disturbance of lectures at the Studio, he wrote to the next provveditore, Capponi Capponi.⁷²

The management of violence and disorder at the Studio senese was different to that at the Studio pisano. Until 1590 the Studio senese was without a rector and even after the revival of the rectorate, his jurisdictional powers were limited. Although he could fine "immodest, loud, and disobedient disturbers of the Studio" and he discussed with the governor issues relating to discipline, he had no authority in cases which involved the effusion of blood.⁷³ Instead responsibility for order rested with the capitano di giustizia and especially the governor. The capitano could be overzealous in the carrying out of his duties. In 1563 the Balìa told Cosimo that the capitano was delivering harsh punishments for the slightest crimes committed by students and professors, disregarding earlier instructions regarding conflicts at the Studio. Such was the severity of his approach that half of the student population had left the city whilst the other half was considering departure.⁷⁴ In 1603 the capitano called the rector Federigo Salvani before his court without first

⁶⁷ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 48v, 26 Jan. 1576; fols. 75v–76r, 23 Mar. 1584.

⁶⁸ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 56r, 22 May 1577.

⁶⁹ See n. 21.

⁷⁰ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fol. 43r, 5 Mar. 1568.

⁷¹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 48v, 26 Jan. 1576.

⁷² ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 99r–99v, 28 Nov. 1598.

⁷³ For the jurisdiction of the rector in Siena, see Chapter Three. For his discussions with the governor, see Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 124.

⁷⁴ ASF, MdP 503a, fol. 1019r, 2 Mar. 1563 (MAProj 3224).

obtaining the authorisation of the auditore Scipione Naldi, who was ruling Siena in the absence of a governor. Even Naldi thought it was wrong to imprison and torture a man who held such high office and who was called “magnifico”. But the capitano insisted that he could do it and tried Salvani in absentia with the sentence to be carried out at the end of his term of office. It took all of Naldi’s authority to force the capitano to drop the case against the rector.⁷⁵

As noted, the governor informed Florence regularly about fights and other unrest, particularly when it related to German students.⁷⁶ The ability of the governor and the capitano to maintain order was undermined by the grand dukes’ support for the German nation. Given the importance of the Germans to the Studio and to the city, they were frequently indulged by the Medici.⁷⁷ Ferdinando was always particularly well-disposed towards the German nation, ordering the officials there to give it every possible satisfaction, to treat it lovingly and with respect, and to punish severely anyone who offended it.⁷⁸ The authority of the governor and the capitano was further weakened by the consigliere of the German nation having jurisdiction over all crimes except homicide, a privilege which led to protests from governor Giulio Del Caccia.⁷⁹ The results of the double standard can be seen clearly in two cases from the early seventeenth century. Following the murder in 1601 of a Polish student, the capitano immediately imprisoned the accused Sienese citizen and Ferdinando approved the use of torture. The Poles were considered part of the German nation. However, when a German student was accused of murder in 1606, the capitano was careful to ask the grand ducal secretariat whether he would be able to arrest him if the consigliere of the German nation argued that it was a case of legitimate defence.⁸⁰

The same indulgence can be seen in the attitudes of the grand dukes towards the carrying of weapons by German students in Siena. Unlike other students, they had the right to bear offensive and defensive arms even at night. In a letter of 1589 to Lorenzo Usimbardi, the grand ducal secretary, Del Caccia asked that the nocturnal licence be revoked.

⁷⁵ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 127, 329–330.

⁷⁶ See n. 25.

⁷⁷ For the importance of the German nation in Siena, see Chapter Three, n. 95.

⁷⁸ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 139.

⁷⁹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 111.

⁸⁰ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 140–141.

He acknowledged that this might make some of them wish to move to other universities, with some loss to the “merchants” as he called the Sienese, but this would be better than damaging justice. His request was denied.⁸¹ The German privilege was envied and in 1593 the rector, Giorgio Fuccaro, asked Ferdinando for the right to grant arms licences to other foreign students. Fuccaro believed that this would attract noble students from Lombardy to the Studio. In the end, a compromise was agreed: the governor was empowered to grant arms licences, but only on the recommendation of the rector, to Lombard and ultramontane students who were noble, quiet, studious, and who attended the Studio.⁸² Resentment at the leniency was revealed again in February 1609 when the governor took advantage of Ferdinando’s death to revoke the individual arms licences which he had granted.⁸³

As at the Studio senese, there was pressure at the Studio pisano to extend arms privileges. According to the statutes of the student-university, the rector and two of his companions had the right to bear arms day and night throughout the duchy of Florence, what would become in 1557 the *stato vecchio*. The notary of the student-university and the beadle of the Studio could also bear arms day and night but only in the city and district of Pisa and only for the duration of their office.⁸⁴ In 1562 Lelio Torelli permitted all students and professors at the Studio to carry legal weapons throughout the *stato vecchio* apart from cities where such weapons were prohibited.⁸⁵

These rights were challenged regularly by local magistrates and appeals had to be made to the grand duke, the *auditore*, and the *provveditore*. In 1550 the vicerektor asked Cosimo to intervene when one of his companions was prevented from carrying arms by the commissario of Pistoia. But Cosimo replied that the statute did not cover Pistoia, where the bearing of weapons was restricted. When the vicerektor then disputed the commissario’s authority over the student-university, Cosimo reported angrily that the man in question had been working in a shoe shop when he was arrested and he had not been dressed as a servant. The vicerektor excused himself and bowed to Cosimo’s judgment.⁸⁶ In 1567 the rector told the *provveditore*, Antonio del Migliore, that

⁸¹ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 111–112, 304–305.

⁸² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 133, 311, 313.

⁸³ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, p. 136.

⁸⁴ “Gli statuti di Cosimo I,” ed. Marrara, p. 591.

⁸⁵ ASP, UDP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 25r–25v, 28 May 1562.

⁸⁶ ASP, UDP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 12r–14v, 10 July 1550–12 Dec. 1550.

scholars were constantly being tormented about carrying arms and he reminded him of the 1562 privilege. Del Migliore accepted their rights but stressed the importance of the matriculation records to establish who was and who was not a student.⁸⁷ Despite this reassurance, further appeals to the grand duke were made throughout the late sixteenth century.⁸⁸ This is unsurprising. Apart from the problem of identifying students, the privilege clashed with legislation restricting arms, as the vicar of Vicopisano pointed out to Francesco when he sought his guidance in 1573.⁸⁹

The ability of the authorities to control violence was damaged by the giving of privileges to carry weapons. It was also weakened by the personal involvement of the rectors in disorder. As we have seen, the rectors of the Studio pisano were occasionally attacked verbally and physically. In each case, they were the victims. However, the same cannot always be said for their counterparts at the Studio senese and their misconduct contributed to the decline of the rectorate there.

Following the revival of the office in 1590, five men served as rector until 1596. They were all prestigious foreigners and they managed to obtain new privileges from Ferdinando. The most successful period began in June 1592 with the election of Giorgio Fuccaro. Since he belonged to the German nation, it was hoped that he would attract more ultramontane students and Ferdinando ordered the governor to take particular account of him. Fuccaro's initiatives to strengthen the Studio were appreciated by the Sienese and Muzio Placidi described him as a generous, liberal young man whom every gentleman competed to honour and seek out in his house. The rectorate fell vacant in 1596 and it remained so until 1600 when a new series of rectors began. But this was a period of terminal decline for the office. Between 1600 and 1623 only eleven rectors were elected and, for the most part, they were members of leading Sienese families. Only two of them were foreigners.⁹⁰

Two of the foreign rectors caused scandal. In 1592 Alamanno Sforzolini da Gubbio ended his service by doing a moonlight flit and Paolo Gelusio da Spoleto, elected in 1596, was remembered as being more

⁸⁷ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 1, fols. 37r–38v, 9 Oct. 1567–18 Oct. 1567.

⁸⁸ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fol. 30r, 30 Mar. 1573; fol. 67r, 20 Sept. 1581; fols. 95v–96r, 22 Feb. 1595.

⁸⁹ ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, B II 2, fols. 29r–29v, 20 Jan. 1573.

⁹⁰ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 124, 126, 182–185, 343–344; Catoni, “Le riforme del granduca,” p. 54.

interested in arms than letters; his father had to come to Siena to restrain him.⁹¹ However, the real deterioration began with the introduction of the Siennese rectors. In February 1601 auditors Scipione Naldi asked the grand ducal secretariat to intervene against Roberto Sergardi, the first Siennese rector, accusing him of turning his house into a secret gambling den, a “congregation” of revellers and rogues, in which sacrifices to the muses were made during the day and sacrifices to the devil during the night. In July 1601, following a fight in which a Polish student was injured, the auditors sent an investigation team into Sergardi’s house. But the nadir came in April 1603 with a fight in the Piazza del Campo between the rector, Federigo Salvani, and an officer of the capitano di giustizia. The capitano sought to imprison, torture, and try Salvani. He was only prevented from doing so by Naldi, who believed it would seriously undermine the office of rector.⁹²

One should not overestimate the contribution of the rectors’ misconduct to the decline of the rectorate. There were also other factors. The frequent and long vacations of the office favoured the appropriation of powers by other bodies. Furthermore, the appointment of Siennese rectors ended the prestige which had come with their foreign predecessors, particularly those from north of the Alps.⁹³ Nevertheless, as Naldi feared, the violence and disorder inevitably reduced the dignity of the office and made it less attractive to anyone who might have considered holding it.

⁹¹ Catoni, “Le riforme del granduca,” p. 55.

⁹² Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 127, 329–330.

⁹³ Marrara, *Lo Studio di Siena*, pp. 126–127.

CONCLUSION

A young man becomes the head of the Medici family. Politically weak in Florence, he oversees the reopening of the university in Pisa, establishing another powerbase in the dominion, where the Medici are stronger than their rivals among the leading Florentine families. At the same time, the young man is careful to leave some teaching provision in Florence, particularly of the *studia humanitatis*, which appeal to the Florentine ruling class. Spending a considerable part of each year in Pisa, the young man works tirelessly to support the Studio. He takes a close personal interest in the appointment of the professors and he meets with them socially. His agents in Rome secure papal permission for the Florentine government to tax the Florentine clergy in order to pay for the Studio. Occasionally the young man even makes payments to the professors out of his own pocket. As he tightens his political control of Florence, the Studio in Pisa flourishes. It becomes one of the leading universities of Italy, gaining an international reputation which reflects well on him.

This is the story of Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico.¹ The political and cultural importance of universities had been instilled in him by his grandfather Cosimo il Vecchio and his father Piero il Gottoso, who were the main champions of the Studio fiorentino in the mid-fifteenth century.² But it is also the story of Lorenzo's great-grandson, Cosimo I, duke of Florence, later grand duke of Tuscany. These parallels provide further evidence that Cosimo I turned to his ancestors for role models.³ They also serve as a useful reminder that, with regard to the

¹ As his latest biographer points out, there are "...scores of carefully documented examples of Lorenzo's acting as the successful *maestro* of this, perhaps his pet, *bottega*," See F. W. Kent, "Patron-Client Networks in Renaissance Florence and the Emergence of Lorenzo as 'Maestro della Bottega'," in *Lorenzo de' Medici: New Perspectives*, ed. Bernard Toscani (New York, 1993), 279–313 (pp. 292–3). For Lorenzo and the Studio, see also Verde, *Lo Studio fiorentino*, Vols. 1–5, *passim*; James Hankins, "Lorenzo de' Medici as a Patron of Philosophy," *Rinascimento*, 2d ser., 34 (1994): 15–53; Davies, *Florence and its University*, pp. 125–42.

² For the Medici and the Studio fiorentino, see Davies, *Florence and its University*, *passim*.

³ For Cosimo il Vecchio as a role model for Cosimo I, see Chapter Two, n. 78; Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 10, 19, 89, 99, 132–33, 145, 153, 188, 194 n. 64, 202 n. 27,

Studio pisano, we need to look back to the fifteenth century if we are to understand what happened in the sixteenth.

The same can also be said for the development of the Studio senese. As Peter Denley has recently argued,

...in institutional terms, nearly all the developments of the period had been foreshadowed in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The concentration of power in the hands of the *Quattro Deputati sullo Studio* is very similar to that of the *Quattro Deputati sopra le condotte* established in 1533, with a separate magistrature continuing to oversee the Sapienza. The rise of the *Camerlengo* of the Sapienza continued, to the point where he replaced its rector and inherited his title. The rectorate of the university remained almost completely in abeyance till its revival in 1591, at which point arrangements made bear a strong resemblance to those of the republican period. With its eventual extinction went virtually all the other trappings of the student-university. Other features, such as the academic organisation of the *Studio*, also underwent little change, the only substantial novelty being the foundation of chairs of simples, the Pandects, and, for German students only, *lingua toscana*. But the institutional similarities went much deeper than this. The ground for central direction had been well laid in the republican period; it was the removal of that direction to non-Sienese overlordship, and above all the exposure of Siena not to a Tuscan 'catchment area', as had been hoped, so much as to Tuscan competition, which transformed the *Studio*.⁴

For Denley, the history of the Studio senese in the sixteenth century was the culmination and the reflection of a process which had begun much earlier. Ever since its foundation in 1246, the Studio had been a communal initiative and during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the regime had steadily increased its control over the students and the professors. Moreover, there was nothing unusual in the Sienese situation; the same process was occurring in university towns across the Italian peninsula in the late middle ages.⁵

221 n. 7, 236 n. 30. For Lorenzo il Magnifico as a role model, see Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, pp. 19, 43, 134, 176, 188, 189, 194 n. 64, 220 n. 5, 236 n. 30.

⁴ Denley, *Commune and Studio*, p. 404. For the communal administration from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, see *ibid.*, pp. 65–81. For the organisation of teaching in this period, see *ibid.*, pp. 149–227. For the student-university, see *ibid.*, pp. 249–78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 405. As Alan Cobban has shown, by paying the salaries of the professors, the local civil authorities exerted control over the Italian universities from the early thirteenth century onwards, see Alan B. Cobban, "Elective Salaried Lectureships in the Universities of Southern Europe in the Pre-Reformation Era," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 67 (1985), 662–687. For a summary of the government magistracies which oversaw the Italian universities, see Grendler, *The Universities*, p. 157.

But is this the whole story? In fact, the grand dukes introduced important innovations regarding the Studio pisano and the Studio senese. Perhaps the most significant of these innovations were the granting of criminal jurisdiction to the rector of the student-university at Pisa and the establishment of the concorsi system for the appointment of professors at Siena. Whilst the rector's criminal jurisdiction survived into the nineteenth century, the concorsi were first subverted and finally suppressed in 1609. Nevertheless, both these changes represented clear breaks with the traditions not only of the Studio pisano and the Studio senese but also of all the other Italian universities. Most importantly, both the criminal jurisdiction of the rector and the concorsi system were not moves towards centralisation but rather towards decentralisation.

These examples are instructive. As with their diplomatic, military, administrative, economic, ecclesiastical, and cultural policies, they show us that the grand dukes were both traditional and radical. Moreover, rather than bolster 'absolutism', their radicalism could increase local privileges. These are lessons which should be remembered when we consider not only the Studio pisano and the Studio senese, but also cultural politics in Tuscany, and the general development of the grand duchy.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DEPUTATI DI BALÌA SOPRA LO STUDIO
DI SIENA, 1557–1609

1557¹

Scipione di Mino Verdelli
Messer Mino Celsi

Sources: ASS, Balìa 169, parte prima, fols. 87r, 108v.

1558

Messer Giulio di Ghino Bandinelli
Messer Adriano di Silvio Saracini
Maestro Francesco di Sigismondo Buoninsegni
Messer Aurelio [di Girolamo Manni?]

Sources: ASS, Balìa 169, parte prima, fols. 66v, 134v–135r, 137r–137v.

1559

Annibale di Cristoforo Tolomei
Giovan Battista Tondi

Sources: ASS, Balìa 169, parte seconda, fols. 229r–229v; ASS, Balìa 170, fol. 122v.

1560²

1561³

¹ Four men served as deputati but only two are named.

² No names are known for this year.

³ No names are known for this year.

1562

Messer Ambrogio Nuti
Giulio di Girolamo Bargagli
Niccolò Bandinelli
Messer Agnolo Ugurgieri

Sources: ASS, Balìa 174, fols. 57v, 79v.

1563

Messer Orlando di Bernardo Malavolti
Messer Adriano di Silvio Saracini
Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci

Sources: ASS, Balìa 174, fols. 108r, 147v.

1564

Messer Francesco di Antonio Maria Tommasi
Perfilo Turamini

Source: ASS, Balìa 175, fol. 39v.

1565⁴

1566⁵

Source: ASS, Balìa 176, fols. 33r.

1567

Messer Girolamo di Giovan Battista Benvoglianti
Messer Francesco Palmieri
Messer Orazio di Conterio Sansedoni
Messer Francesco di Antonio Maria Tommasi

Sources: ASS, Balìa 176, fols. 94v, 116v–117r, 121v–122r, 127v, 128r.

⁴ No names are known for this year.

⁵ Four men discuss the appointment of professors for the year 1566/67 but the men are not named.

1568

Messer Marco di Andrea Landucci
Annibale di Buonsignore Buonsignori, il Capitano
Annibale di Agnolo Simoni
Messer Lelio di Giovanni Pecci

Source: Balìa 177, fol. 11r.

1569

Messer Camillo Palmieri
Messer Giovan Battista di Agnolo Piccolimini
Maestro Francesco di Sigismondo Buoninsegni
Messer Panfilo di Leonardo Colombini

Source: ASS, Balìa 177, fol. 93r.

1570

Messer Francesco di Giovanni Palmieri
Orazio di Giovanni Mignanelli
Giulio di Alessandro Del Taia
Antonio Maria di Giovanni Francesco Petrucci

Source: ASS, Balìa 178, fol. 21r.

1571

Lelio Guglielmi
Messer Scipione di Mariano Venturi
Messer Alessandro [di Bartolomeo Biringucci?]
Giulio di Girolamo Bargagli

Source: ASS, Balìa 178, fol. 89r.

1572

Messer Marco di Andrea Landucci
Messer Giovan Battista di Agnolo Piccolimini
Maestro Francesco di Sigismondo Buoninsegni
Messer Lelio di Giovanni Pecci

Source: ASS, Balìa 179, fol. 4r.

1573

Niccoletto Forteguerri, il Capitano
Ascanio di Girolamo Beccafumi
Messer Orlando di Bernardo Malavolti
Messer Lelio di Domenico Placidi

Source: ASS, Balìa 179, fol. 60v.

1574

Messer Francesco di Giovanni Palmieri
Annibale di Buonsignore Buonsignori, il Capitano
Egidio di Bartolomeo de' Vecchi
Porfirio di Alfonso Cinughi

Sources: ASS, Balìa 179, fols. 118v [formerly 117v], 121v [formerly 120v].

1575

Messer Marco di Andrea Landucci
Messer Scipione di Mariano Venturi
Messer Buoninsegna Buoninsegni
Messer Lelio di Giovanni Pecci

Source: ASS, Balìa 180, fol. 5v.

1576

Fabio di Ridolfo Forteguerra
Messer Giovan Battista di Agnolo Piccolomini
Scipione di Cristoforo Chigi
Giulio di Girolamo Bargagli

Source: ASS, Balìa 180, fol. 68v.

1577

Tommaso di Girolamo Docci, il Gonfaloniere
Marco Antonio Cinuzzi
Messer Giovan Battista di Girolamo Ballati
Camillo Salvetti

Source: ASS, Balìa 180, fol. 140r.

1578⁶

Bernardino di Bartolomeo Tantucci
 Messer Orlando di Bernardo Malavolti
 Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci
 Lorenzo di Bartolomeo Griffoli
 Giovan Battista Tondi

Source: ASS, Balia 181, fol. 3v, 17v.

1579

Messer Marco di Andrea Landucci
 Aldobrando di Niccolò Cerretani
 Messer Buoninsegna Buoninsegni
 Messer Lelio di Giovanni Pecci

Source: ASS, Balia 181, fol. 71r.

1580

Flaminio di Giustiniano Nelli, il Capitano
 Messer Niccolò di Alessandro Finetti
 Messer Giovan Battista di Girolamo Ballati
 Messer Attilio di Iacopo Tondi

Source: ASS, Balia 181, fol. 129r.

1581

Cesare di Ambrogio Nuti
 Messer Orlando di Bernardo Malavolti
 Guidino di Iacopo Guidini
 Marco Antonio di Carlo Benassai

Source: ASS, Balia 182, fol. 5r.

⁶ On 4 May 1578 Tondi replaced Griffoli, who had been appointed capitano di Montalcino.

1582

Girolamo di Deifebo Bindi
Annibale di Buonsignore Buonsignori, il Capitano
Messer Buoninsegna Buoninsegni
Messer Lorenzo di Bartolomeo Griffoli

Source: ASS, Balìa 182, fol. 87r.

1583

Niccolò di Preziano Costanti
Conte Giulio di Tommaso d'Elci
Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci
Scipione di Niccolò Borghesi

Source: ASS, Balìa 182, fol. 164r.

1584

Claudio di Roberto Sergardi
Messer Orlando di Bernardo Malavolti
Messer Liberio di Antonio Luti, cavaliere
Messer Lelio di Domenico Placidi, cavaliere

Source: ASS, Balìa 184, fol. 4r.

1585

Fabio di Giulio Del Vaia
Giovan Francesco Sansedoni, il Capitano del Popolo
Messer Filippo Buoninsegni
Alessandro di Andrea Trencerchi, il Capitano

Source: ASS, Balìa 184, fol. 85r.

1586

Messer Scipione di Giovanni Palmieri
Annibale di Buonsignore Buonsignori, il Capitano
Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci
Messer Attilio di Iacopo Tondi

Source: ASS, Balìa 184, fol. 152v.

1587

Fedro Bandini
 Aldobrando di Niccolò Cerretani
 Messer Lattanzio di Marcello Biringucci
 Messer Adriano di Pandolfo Borghesi

Source: ASS, Balìa 184, fol. 209r.

1588

Paolo di Lodovico Puliti
 Conte Marcello di Tommaso d'Elci
 Enea di Francesco Savini
 Giovan Battista Tondi

Source: ASS, Balìa 185, fol. 4r.

1589⁷

Messer Fortunio di Giovan Battista Martini, cavaliere
 Messer Clemente di Giovan Battista Piccolomini
 Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci
 Messer Belisario di Paride Bulgarini
 Ippolito di Marcello Agostini

Sources: ASS, Balìa 185, fols. 112v–113r, 140v.

1590

Messer Scipione di Giovanni Palmieri
 Messer Filippo di Girolamo Tolomei, cavaliere
 Messer Augusto Cennini
 Messer Attilio di Iacopo Tondi

Source: ASS, Balìa 186, fol. 3r.

⁷ On 18 July 1589 Agostini replaced Martini, who had been appointed capitano di Radicofani.

1591

Achille di Giovanni Donati
Messer Virginio di Giovanni Turamini
Bernardino di Fernando Benvoglianti
Messer Alessandro Agazzari, cavaliere

Source: ASS, Balìa 186, fol. 75r.

1592

Messer Ostilio di Niccolò Guelfi, cavaliere
Orazio di Ghino Azzoni
Tullio di Pietro Benassai
Messer Antonio Maria Petrucci

Source: ASS, Balìa 186, fol. 162v.

1593

Marcello Palmieri
Pindaro di Pier Antonio Allegretti
Flavio di Mario Chigi
Achille di Lattanzio Petrucci

Source: ASS, Balìa 187, fol. 1v.

1594

Messer Muzio di Ascanio Brogioni
Lelio Ugurgieri
Flavio di Bernardino Buoninsegni
Scipione di Giulio Bargagli

Source: ASS, Balìa 187, fol. 52r.

1595

Messer Camillo di Lattanzio Bronconi
Giulio Spannocchi
Messer Alessandro di Bartolomeo Biringucci
Pandolfo Petrucci

Source: ASS, Balìa 187, fol. 91v.

1596

Federigo di Niccolò Sergardi
Messer Marco Antonio Tolomei
Messer Lattanzio di Marcello Biringucci
Messer Lorenzo di Bartolomeo Griffoli

Source: ASS, Balia 187, fol. 121v.

1597

Messer Muzio di Ascanio Brogioni
Messer Virginio di Giovanni Turamini
Guido di Annibale Savini
Belisario di Paride Bulgarini

Source: ASS, Balia 188, fol. 1v.

1598

Messer Niccolò Forteguerri
Giulio Spannocchi
Flavio di Marco Chigi
Emilio di Niccolò Tommasi

Source: ASS, Balia 188, fol. 56r.

1599

Fedro Bandini
Orazio di Ghino Azzoni
Antenore di Mario de' Vecchi
Messer Alessandro di Giovan Battista Beccarini, cavaliere

Source: ASS, Balia 188, fol. 102r.

1600

Messer Muzio di Ascanio Brogioni
Messer Marco Antonio Tolomei
Messer Lattanzio di Marcello Biringucci
Messer Claudio di Cristoforo Santi

Source: ASS, Balia 188, fol. 141v.

1601

Messer Camillo di Lattanzio Bronconi
Giulio Spannocchi
Carlo di Francesco de' Vecchi
Messer Antonio Maria Petrucci

Source: ASS, Balìa 189, fol. 2r.

1602

Fedro Bandini
Augusto di Mino Celsi
Flavio di Mario Chigi
Messer Scipione di Giulio Bargagli, cavaliere

Source: ASS, Balìa 189, fol. 56v.

1603

Messer Niccolò Forteguerri
Rutilio di Orazio Sansedoni
Girolamo Ballati
Belisario di Paride Bulgarini

Source: ASS, Balìa 189, fol. 115v.

1604

Giovan Battista di Lelio Guglielmi
Conte Orso d'Elci
Iacomo di Guidino Guidini, il Gonfaloniere
Giulio di Bartolomeo Petrucci

Source: ASS, Balìa 189, fol. 160v.

1605

Messer Nicodemo di Alessandro Forteguerri
Messer Ottavio di Agnolo Ugurgieri, cavaliere
Messer Filippo Buoninsegni
Muzio di Domenico Placidi

Source: ASS, Balìa 189, fol. 199r.

1606

Federigo di Niccolò Sergardi

Francesco Finetti

Pandolfo di Enea Savini

Achille di Lattanzio Petrucci

Source: ASS, Balìa 190, fol. 1v.

1607

Messer Pompeo Cacciaguerni

Lelio di Iacopo Tolomei

Antonio di Scipione Biringucci

Messer Alessandro di Lattanzio Petrucci, cavaliere

Source: ASS, Balìa 190, fol. 40v.

1608

Messer Niccolò Forteguerri

Messer Virginio di Giovanni Turamini

Iacomo di Guidino Guidini

Messer Scipione di Giulio Bargagli, cavaliere

Source: ASS, Balìa 190, fol. 81r.

1609

Messer Dionisio di Mariano Tantucci

Pindaro di Pier Antonio Allegretti

Flavio di Mario Chigi

Messer Lodovico di Giovan Battista Accarigi

Source: ASS, Balìa 190, fol. 110r.

APPENDIX II

INDICES OF THE KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE PISAN COLLEGES OF DOCTORS, 1543–1609

The following indices are based on the records of doctorates and the lists of promotors given in *Acta Graduum Academiae Pisanae, I (1543–1599)*, ed. Rodolfo Del Gratta (Pisa, 1980), pp. 2–440 and *Acta Graduum Academiae Pisanae, II (1600–1699)*, ed. Giuliana Volpi (Pisa, 1981), pp. 2–49, 458–466, 570–577.

INDEX OF THE KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE OF THEOLOGIANS

Baglioni, Lelio, da Firenze O.S.M.: 5 Feb. 1599–18 May 1609
Baldosi, Antonio, da Sardegna O.F.M.: 13 Mar. 1571–21 June 1582
Bellavita, Andrea, da Pisa: 30 May 1587–19 Oct. 1608
Bellavita, Tiberio, da Pisa: 11 Oct. 1596
Borri, Girolamo, da Arezzo: 25 Mar. 1556–14 Dec. 1586
Cintoletta, Curzio, da Pisa: 21 Dec. 1607–3 Sept. 1609
Civitella, Vincenzo Polidoro: 27 Mar. 1605–8 July 1607
Costacci, Giovan Battista, da Visso: 17 Jan. 1591–4 Apr. 1608
Erera, Tommaso: 19 May 1550
Fantoni, Filippo, da Firenze O.S.B. Cam.: 29 May 1582–19 Oct. 1589
Ferragalli, Valerio de': 16 Sept. 1595
Forlito, Giovan Battista, da Palermo, O.Carm.: 9 July 1578–19 Sept. 1580
Grassolini, Cristoforo: 11 Sept. 1569
Libranti, Giovan Battista, da Budrio, O.S.M.: 4 Sept. 1562–30 Dec. 1587
Luciani, Francesco, da Piombino, O.F.M.: 9 Jan. 1608–17 June 1609
Malatesta, Marco Antonio, da Pistoia: 28 Mar. 1595–20 Apr. 1597
Mancini, Bartolomeo, da Montepulciano: 8 Feb. 1580
Maranta, Domenico, da Firenze, O.P.: 30 Dec. 1587–21 June 1588
Mariano da Gubbio, O.F.M.: 10 Oct. 1586–30 Dec. 1587
Martini, Cornelio: 12 Jan. 1566
Maura, Francesco: 24 Jan. 1605–2 Sept. 1606
Medici, Lelio, da Piacenza, O.F.M.: 17 Nov. 1588–2 Apr. 1603

- Melis, Giovan Domenico, da Sardegna, O.F.M.: 7 Dec. 1585–21 Sept. 1588
 Mengozzi, Francesco: 21 Nov. 1557
 Migliavacca, Giovan Battista, da Asti, O.S.M.: 2 June ? [1550–1552]–2 Jan. 1558
 Nobili, Flaminio: 25 Oct. 1570
 Piffèri, Francesco, da Monte San Savino, O.S.B. Cam.: 9 Feb. 1587–19 May 1588
 Poncevi, Domenico, da Firenze: 20 Apr. 1597–6 July 1597
 Porzio, Simone, da Napoli: 19 May 1550–2 June ? [1550–1552]
 Pupilli, Alessandro: 15 Sept. 1597
 Ristori, Giuliano, da Prato, O.Carm.: 19 May 1550
 Rosetti, Prospero, da Firenze, O.S.M.: 19 Oct. 1589–3 June 1598
 Silvani, Domenico, da Firenze, O.S.M.: 16 May 1578–14 Sept. 1588
 Tavanti, Iacopo, da Pieve San Stefano O.S.M.: 7 Aug. 1565–5 Sept. 1606
 Torriani, Sebastiano: 25 Mar. 1556
 Ubaldei, Girolamo: 25 July 1553
 Urbani, Girolamo: ? Oct. 1573
 Venturini, Antonio, da Sarazana: 30 Oct. 1587
 Venturini, Francesco, da Pisa, O.S.A.: 12 June 1552–17 Nov. 1588
 Venturini, Vincenzo: 6 Nov. 1588

INDEX OF THE KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE
 COLLEGE OF LEGISTS

- Accolti, Iacopo, da Arezzo: 21 Mar. 1581–4 Apr. 1585
 Accolti, Ippolito, da Arezzo: 20 May 1576–10 June 1592
 Accolti, Leonardo, da Arezzo: 31 Dec. 1596
 Accolti, Pietro, da Arezzo: 23 May 1602–25 Oct. 1609
 Angeli, Iacopo, da Barga: 14 Feb. 1564–10 Nov. 1608
 Angeli, Giovanni, da Barga: 14 Apr. 1609–14 June 1609
 Angeli, Pietro, da Barga (known as 'il Bargeo'): 28 Mar. 1584–27 Sept. 1594
 Ansaldo, Antonio, da San Miniato: 22 Dec. 1597–1 July 1606
 Anselmi, Pietro Antonio, da Firenze: 25 Mar. 1560–3 June 1564
 Arreus, Giovanni, da Spagna: 20 June 1569
 Asini, Giovan Battista degli, da Firenze: 1 Mar. 1548–10 May 1554
 Asini, Marco Antonio degli, da Firenze: 11 Nov. 1592–9 May 1596

- Baldesi, Miniato, da Firenze: 8 Dec. 1596–18 June 1598
 Balduini, Francesco, da Barga: 23 May 1589–2 May 1591
 Ballerini, Santi, da Perugia: 25 Nov. 1608–17 Dec. 1609
 Bardelloni, Carlo, da Mantova: 25 May 1564–7 June 1567
 Becci, Lorenzo, da Castiglion Fiorentino: 31 Oct. 1563–2 Mar. 1567
 Beltramini, Niccolò, da Montepulciano: 7 May 1547–9 June 1555
 Benevoglianti, Evandro, da Siena: 11 Feb. 1584–8 June 1586
 Bertini, Francesco, da Colle Valdelsa: 19 Apr. 1563–9 Dec. 1601
 Bocca, Giuseppe, da Pisa: 13 Oct. 1569–23 Aug. 1609
 Bonamici, Francesco, da Firenze: 3 May 1588
 Bonaventuri, Filippo, da Firenze: 23 Mar. 1581–20 Dec. 1609
 Bonaventuri, Giovanni: 25 Jan. 1594
 Bonaventuri, Zenobio, da Firenze: 27 Dec. 1591–9 May 1596
 Bonfiglio, Stefano, da Messina: 10 Jan. 1557–9 Dec. 1557
 Boni, Benedetto, da Cortona: 17 Mar. 1553–20 Apr. 1553
 Borghesi, Giovan Battista, da Siena: 9 May 1596–22 Dec. 1597
 Buonaparte, Niccolò, da San Miniato, senior: 21 Jan. 1553–13 Apr. 1557
 Calefati, Niccolò, da Piombino: 30 June 1563–16 Apr. 1589
 Calefati, Pietro, da Piombino: 17 May 1548–14 June 1586
 Cantucci, Iacopo, da Firenze: 18 Feb. 1574–9 June 1575
 Capponi, Alessandro, da Firenze: 29 Jan. 1569–28 June 1572
 Capponi, Cappone, da Firenze: 12 Apr. 1558–30 Dec. 1599
 Castagnero, Iacopo, da Sardegna: 16 May 1571–20 Dec. 1572
 Castiglioni, Giovan Battista, da Firenze: 27 May 1548
 Cervelliera, Giuseppe, da Pisa: 27 Dec. 1577–11 Nov. 1584
 Ciofi, Antonio, da Firenze: 11 Apr. 1549–8 Dec. 1575
 Columbini, Leonardo, da Siena: 8 Jan. 1589–11 May 1591
 Columbini, Panfilo, da Siena: 26 Feb. 1559–15 June 1598
 Compagni, Giovanni, da Firenze: 2 Nov. 1585–16 May 1588
 Compagni, Ottavio, da Pistoia: 8 Dec. 1590–6 June 1594
 Concini, Giovan Battista, da Firenze: 3 Feb. 1560–25 Apr. 1561
 Corsi, Attilio, da Firenze: 1 Jan. 1607–25 Nov. 1609
 Costei, Giovan Francesco, da Lodi: 1 Jan. 1608–20 Oct. 1608
 Curini, Antonio, da Pontremoli: 17 Jan. 1594–27 Dec. 1609
 Fabbroni, Leonardo, da Firenze: 9 Jan. 1569–12 June 1583
 Fabbroni, Pietro, da Firenze: 3 Oct. 1583–31 Dec. 1587
 Facchinei, Andrea, da Forlì: 30 Nov. 1597–22 June 1608
 Facchinei, Bernardino, da Forlì: 17 Sept. 1606–13 Jan. 1609
 Facchinei, Filippo, da Forlì: 28 June 1609

- Geri, Pietro, da Arezzo: 12 Mar. 1599–20 June 1600
 Giomi, Anton Francesco, da Empoli: 25 Jan. 1582–21 June 1585
 Godemi, Vincenzo, da Pistoia: 3 May 1546–19 June 1550
 Gozzari, Francesco, da Arezzo: 5 Nov. 1574–18 May 1578
 Guarnieri, Giovan Battista, da Pisa: 14 Apr. 1580
 Guazzesi, Angelo, da Arezzo: 21 Dec. 1590–26 May 1596
 Guerrazzi, Pietro, da Pisa: 2 Feb. 1561–19 Jan. 1573
 Guicciardini, Niccolò, da Firenze: 3 May 1546–15 June 1554
 Guicciardini, Pietro, da Firenze: 7 Dec. 1571
 Guidi, Giovanni, da Volterra: 29 Sept. 1573–16 Apr. 1574
 Guidi, Silvatico, da Volterra: 7 Feb. 1547–6 Jan. 1556
 Guidi, Vincenzo, da Lucca: 12 May 1574–21 July 1578
 Inghirami, Bernardo, da Volterra: 30 Dec. 1603–31 Mar. 1608
 Lancillotti, Francesco, da Perugia: 18 Dec. 1599–28 June 1601
 Landi, Ottavio: 19 June 1550
 Lanfranchi, Alessandro: 19 Apr. 1543–19 July 1552
 Lanfranchi, Domenico: 3 June 1543–7 Mar. 1557
 Lenzoni, Francesco, da Firenze: 27 Feb. 1567–22 Apr. 1568
 Magnani, Antonio, da Pisa: 28 Mar. 1584–8 Sept. 1597
 Magnani, Giovanni: 30 Mar. 1590
 Malavolta, Girolamo, da Siena: 30 Apr. 1546–16 July 1560
 Malegonnelli, Donato, da Firenze: 8 Nov. 1551–28 Oct. 1589
 Mandelli, Iacopo, da Alba: 14 Jan. 1552–3 Dec. 1554
 Mandosi, Quintiliano, da Roma: 10 May 1576–30 July 1578
 Marliani, Girolamo, da Genova: 16 Feb. 1602
 Marta, Iacopo Antonio, da Napoli: 30 Nov. 1597–3 Sept. 1602
 Marzi Medici, Cristoforo, da Firenze: 23 Apr. 1608–2 Apr. 1609
 Marzinenghi, Enea: 3 June 1591
 Massini, Filippo, da Perugia: 2 Nov. 1592–1 Jan. 1597
 Mastiani, Benedetto: 5 Jan. 1543–10 May 1543
 Mastiani, Giovanni, da Pisa: 3 June 1543
 Mattei, Fabrizio, da Forlì: 5 June 1605–8 July 1607
 Mauri, Pirro, da Pisa: 2 Apr. 1578–26 Jan. 1581
 Mazzinghi, Paradiso, da Firenze: 30 Apr. 1546–22 Apr. 1593
 Mazzuoli, Vincenzo, da Pisa: 10 May 1581–19 Dec. 1599
 Mercuriali, Girolamo, da Forlì: 12 Oct. 1599
 Mormorai, Pietro, da Firenze: 17 Nov. 1577–31 Oct. 1580
 Murzi, Francesco: 30 June 1572–27 Sept. 1574
 Neretti, Bernardino, da Firenze: 11 Nov. 1580–25 Oct. 1583
 Nerucci, Bernardo, da San Gimignano: 4 June 1565–1 Apr. 1582

- Nerucci, Pietro Antonio, da San Gimignano: 3 May 1546–9 June 1555
- Niccolai, Pietro, da Pisa: 6 July 1572–18 Sept. 1605
- Nozzolini, Annibale, da Pisa: 3 Feb. 1554–27 Jan. 1575
- Oddi, Sforza, da Perugia: 6 Nov. 1588–19 June 1592
- Onesti, Giovan Battista, da Pescia: 29 Apr. 1554–12 Apr. 1592
- Pacinelli, Curzio, da Arezzo: 11 June 1600
- Pagni, Cipriani, da Pisa: 1 Feb. 1590–27 Dec. 1609
- Palmerini, Alessandro: 28 Aug. 1599
- Palmerini, Giuseppe: 27 Sept. 1574–19 Dec. 1599
- Panciatichi, Nofri: 19 Dec. 1569
- Panuzzi, Lorenzo, da Pistoia: 1 Jan. 1565
- Paoli, Pietro: 27 Nov. 1580–31 May 1587
- Papponi, Girolamo, da Pisa: 19 July 1552–30 Dec. 1599
- Pasci, Giulio, da Colle Valdelsa: 3 Dec. 1606–17 Jan. 1608
- Patteri, Giovan Battista, da Pisa: ? ? 1557–3 June 1568
- Perignani, Francesco: 7 June 1567–4 March 1572
- Perignani, Silvio, da Pisa: 21 May 1573–28 Jan. 1582
- Perini, Camillo, da Firenze: 23 Feb. 1606–11 Apr. 1606
- Perini, Pier Paolo, da Pisa: 2 Mar. 1578–7 June 1590
- Pescia [sic]: 22 May 1596–8 June 1597
- Pescioni, Benedetto, da Firenze: 7 Dec. 1572–1 June 1580
- Piscia, Niccolò: 23 Mar. 1587
- Pitta, Francesco: 3 June 1543–22 July 1572
- Pitta, Simone Pietro, da Pisa: 30 Oct. 1554–20 May 1603
- Plauzio, Camillo, da Fontanella: ? ? 1557–28 Sept. 1568
- Plauzio, Lorenzo: 11 June 1567
- Preti, Antonio: 22 Mar. 1557–28 Apr. 1560
- Puccinelli, Curzio: 18 Dec. 1599–10 Dec. 1599
- Raudensi, Alessandro: 2 Nov. 1592–30 Dec. 1599
- Raudensi, Paolo: 12 Mar. 1599–19 Dec. 1599
- Riccardi, Pietro, da Pistoia: 15 Nov. 1571–14 Sept. 1585
- Ricci, Pier Francesco: 19 Mar. 1605–9 Mar. 1606
- Ripa, Polidoro: 30 Apr. 1595–11 Apr. 1607
- Ro, Alessandro, da Milano: 12 Jan. 1600–16 Apr. 1600
- Ro, Paolo, da Milano: 27 Apr. 1600
- Rodolfi, Rinaldo, da Perugia: 22 Dec. 1557–16 July 1560
- Romani, Angelo, da Arezzo: 19 May 1549
- Romulei, Bartolomeo, da Firenze: 21 Jan. 1572–11 June 1577
- Roncagalli, Giovan Battista, da Ferrara: 26 Feb. 1548–22 Oct. 1550

Rustici, Tommaso, da Firenze: 27 May 1607
 Salerni, Giulio, da Pavia: 26 Oct. 1555–6 July 1563
 Sanazari, Giulio, da Pavia: 19 Oct. 1596–4 Apr. 1604
 Sancasciani, Giovanni: 5 Jan. 1543–3 June 1543
 Sanminiatelli, Alessandro, da Pisa: 11 Sept. 1581–9 July 1609
 Sanminiati, Matteo: 2 May 1566–31 Dec. 1596
 Scorza, Onorato, da Genova: 21 Nov. 1609
 Seta, Ippolito, da Pisa: 30 May 1565–20 May 1580
 Soaci, Guerrino, da Padova: 9 Jan. 1580–3 June 1591
 Soaci, Pietro, Piso [sic]: 22 Feb. 1586–19 Sept. 1589
 Soaci, Taddeo, Piso [sic]: 8 Sept. 1590–1 Oct. 1591
 Spigliati, Martino, da Firenze: 15 May 1571–2 May 1580
 Spigliati, Francesco: ? Nov. 1573
 Spoliati, Pietro: 22 Dec. 1573
 Stataccini, Livio, da Colle: 3 Feb. 1583–3 May 1588
 Tesauri, Carlo Antonio, da Torino, abate: 1 Jan. 1608–10 May 1609
 Tommasini, Luca, da Ripatransone: 14 Jan. 1601–9 Apr. 1606
 Torelli, Gaspare, da Borgo San Sepolcro: 13 Dec. 1561
 Tosi, Giovanni: 25 Aug. 1577–19 Apr. 1587
 Ugolini, Girolamo: 28 Dec. 1560–20 Apr. 1561
 Uguccioni, Giovanni, da Firenze: 5 Feb. 1581–7 May 1592
 Vanni, Roberto, da Pisa: 10 May 1543–7 Dec. 1581
 Vegio, Giovan Francesco, da Pavia: 3 May 1546–6 Jan. 1555
 Vena, Alessandro, da Pisa: 14 Nov. 1568–4 Oct. 1581
 Venerosi, Camillo, da Pisa: 30 Sept. 1569–21 Mar. 1577
 Vettori, Giovan Francesco: 7 Dec. 1585–15 June 1587
 Vias, Iacopo, da Marsiglia: 16 Sept. 1592–17 Aug. 1593
 Vigna, Bernardo: 14 Feb. 1557–7 June 1565
 Ximenes, Tommaso, da Portogallo: 15 Dec. 1596–11 Apr. 1599

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 (OR PHILOSOPHERS AND MEDICS)

Angeli, Giulio, da Barga: 7 Aug. 1568–30 Jan. 1592
 Angeli, Michelangelo, da Barga: 7 May 1549–9 Mar. 1572
 Anselmi, Francesco, da Pisa: 5 July 1592–2 Apr. 1609
 Anselmi, Pietro Antonio, da Firenze: 24 Mar. 1596–11 May 1596
 Aquilani, Massimo, da Pisa: 27 Dec. 1555–6 Sept. 1598
 Aquilani, Scipio, da Pisa: 22 Dec. 1599

- Argentieri, Giovanni, da Castelnuovo d'Asti: 29 May 1547–8 Sept. 1556
 Astolfi, Angelo, da Monte San Savino: 28 May 1598–10 Feb. 1604
 Baldelli, Baldello, da Cortona: 13 Feb. 1574–22 Aug. 1597
 Baldini, Baccio: 11 Nov. 1547–18 Mar. 1548
 Bellavita, Tiberio, da Pisa: 27 Aug. 1587–24 Dec. 1590
 Benzi, Sozzino, da Ferrara: 23 Mar. 1550–23 May 1553
 Bertacchi, Domenico, da Camporeggiano: 14 May 1566–8 June 1579
 Boldoni, Niccolò, da Milano: 31 May 1547–18 June 1553
 Bonamici, Francesco, da Firenze: 9 May 1563–25 May 1603
 Bonuccelli, Luca Antonio, da Camaiore: 2 Aug. 1554
 Borghi, Antonio: 4 Oct. 1597
 Borri, Girolamo, da Arezzo: 25 Nov. 1553–17 Dec. 1586
 Boscagli, Cosimo, da Firenze: 30 Dec. 1598–20 June 1604
 Camuzzi, Andrea, da Milano: 17 Apr. 1578–25 Oct. 1587
 Capannoli, Francesco, da Pisa: 5 July 1587
 Capannoli, Girolamo: 7 Apr. 1580
 Capannoli, Giuseppe, da Pisa: 5 Oct. 1572–22 Aug. 1597
 Caponsacchi, Pietro, da Arezzo: 29 Jan. 1566–27 May 1574
 Cartegni, Giovan Battista, da Bagnone: 13 Dec. 1592–20 Dec. 1609
 Cavriani, Filippo, da Mantova: 21 Nov. 1593–19 Mar. 1605
 Cesalpino, Andrea, da Arezzo: 22 Mar. 1556–24 Aug. 1592
 Cornacchini, Marco, da Arezzo: 6 Jan. 1604–14 Aug. 1609
 Cornacchini, Orazio, da Arezzo: 11 Jan. 1596–22 Dec. 1599
 Cornacchini, Tommaso, da Arezzo: 28 Jan. 1553–30 Sept. 1583
 Corsini, Vittorio: 6 Sept. 1598
 Dias, Damiano, da Portogallo: 10 Sept. 1566–28 June 1607
 Dias, Girolamo: 5 Oct. 1572
 Ferrini, Vincenzo, da Pisa: 17 June 1562–7 June 1563
 Fonseca, Rodrigo, da Portogallo: 12 June 1583–18 Sept. 1609
 Gambarelli, Pietro, da Firenze: 14 Jan. 1578
 Garbi, Francesco: 31 Mar. 1549–31 Oct. 1549
 Gatteschi, Bartolomeo, da Strada in Casentino: 18 Apr. 1546–28 May 1554
 Ghettoni, Selvaggio, da Pisa: 7 June 1552–17 June 1559
 Ghini, Luca, da Imola: 26 May 1549–? 1555 [?]
 Giachini, Leonardo, da Empoli: 18 Apr. 1546–31 May 1547
 Grachini, Leonardo: 29 May 1547–30 Nov. 1547
 Guidi, Guido, da Firenze, senior and junior: 18 Mar. 1548–8 May 1583
 Lapinini, Antonio, da Firenze: 18 Apr. 1546–18 June 1552

- Lavelli, Iacopo, da Castelnuovo Garfagnana: 30 Jan. 1592–30 Apr. 1594
Libri, Giulio, da Firenze: 7 Mar. 1571–28 Dec. 1609
Liceti, Fortunio, da Genova: 18 Nov. 1607–9 May 1609
Lorenzi, Iacopo: 8 Dec. 1593
Lorenzini, Antonio, da Montepulciano: 30 Apr. 1597–11 June 1598
Luca Antonio da Camaione: 5 May 1554
Lupi, Pietro, da Pisa: 27 Aug. 1587–2 Apr. 1606
Mainetti, Mainetto, da Bologna: 31 May 1547–25 Jan. 1582
Mainetti, Orazio, da Bologna: 8 July 1580
Maracini, Andrea: 12 Jan. 1559
Maranta, Domenico, da Firenze: 20 Feb. 1588–17 June 1588
Maurizi, Leonardo, da Arezzo: 12 Mar. 1589–30 Nov. 1594
Mazzoni, Iacopo, da Cesena: 20 Nov. 1588–12 June 1597
Mazzuoli, Vincenzo, da Pisa: 13 Feb. 1597
Mercuriali, Girolamo, da Forlì: 13 Dec. 1592–24 Feb. 1606
Migliorati, Remigio, da Borgo San Sepolcro: 29 May 1547–20 Jan. 1554
Montigiani, Damiano, da San Gimignano: 19 Apr. 1548–17 Jan. 1575
Muti, Giovan Battista, da Poggibonsi: 26 May 1560–9 May 1580
Nobili, Flaminio: 17 Jan. 1560–2 May 1571
Nozzolini, Tolomeo, da Pisa: 9 June 1591–24 Mar. 1596
Orsilaghi, Pietro: 30 June 1543
Paparelli, Sebastiano, delle Marche: 23 June 1550
Paterni, Bernardino, da Salò [?]: 17 Nov. 1555–21 June 1558
Ponzanelli, Antonio, da Sarzana: 30 Sept. 1562–7 Apr. 1580
Porzio, Simone, da Napoli: 18 Apr. 1546–24 Feb. 1552
Quarantotti, Clemente, da Montecatini: 30 Sept. 1562–30 May 1588
Quarantotti, Marco Antonio, da Montecatini: 19 Apr. 1543–13 Sept. 1569
Rovezzani, Giuseppe, da Pisa: 28 May 1598–22 Dec. 1599
Ruschi, Carlo: 11 June 1598
Ruschi, Giovanni, da Pisa: 18 Aug. 1578–24 Feb. 1609
Ruschi, Pietro, da Pisa: 12 Apr. 1594–28 Oct. 1608
Salviani, Agamennone, da Castelfiorentino: 28 Oct. 1553
Sanleolini, Francesco, da Firenze: 28 May 1598–22 Dec. 1599
Seghieri, Francesco, da Montecarlo: 12 Mar. 1608
Sestini, Ippolito, da Bibbiena: 7 Dec. 1582–17 June 1588
Strozzi, Giovanni, da Firenze: 22 Mar. 1551–28 May 1554
Talentoni, Giovan Antonio, da Fivizzano: 28 Oct. 1580–12 June 1594
Tizzi, Agostino, da Castiglion Fiorentino: 26 May 1559
Tomasì, Carlo, da Cortona: 16 Nov. 1597–2 Apr. 1606

- Tosi, Paolo: 11 May 1586–30 May 1588
Ugeri, Achille: 19 Apr. 1543–30 June 1543
Vanni, Vincenzo, da Pisa: 12 July 1609
Venturini, Antonio, da Sarzana: 16 Dec. 1561–24 June 1584
Venturini, Francesco, da Pisa, O.S.A.: 3 Mar. 1573–12 May 1583
Venturini, Ventura, da Sarzana [?]: 28 Apr. 1569–7 Sept. 1573
Verini, Francesco, da Firenze: 23 Apr. 1561–17 Apr. 1590
Verini, Giovan Battista: 20 Dec. 1587
Vezzi, Girolamo, da Pistoia: 28 Dec. 1563–30 Nov. 1585
Vivoli, Francesco, da Firenze: 29 Dec. 1560–5 May 1566

APPENDIX III

INDICES OF THE KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE SIENESE COLLEGES OF DOCTORS, 1557–1579

The following indices are based on the records of degrees awarded at the Studio senese between 1557 and 1579 which are published in *Le lauree dello Studio senese nel XVI secolo: Registi degli atti dal 1516 al 1573*, ed. Giovanni Minnucci and Paola Giovanna Morelli (Siena, 1992), pp. 271–470 and *Le lauree dello Studio senese nel XVI secolo: registi degli atti dal 1573 al 1579*, ed. Giovanni Minnucci and Paola Giovanna Morelli with the collaboration of Silvio Pucci (Siena, 1998), pp. 1–151.

INDEX OF THE KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE OF THEOLOGAINS

Alessandro O.S.A.: 17/18 Oct. 1576–24 Mar. 1578
Amarone, Cristoforo, O.S.A.: 20/21 Jan. 1574–19/20 Oct. 1579
Antonio da Siena O.S.M.: 12/13 Feb. 1564
Antonio O.S.M.: 12/13 Feb. 1564
Balestracci, Stefano, da Siena O.P.: 28/29 Oct. 1576–19/20 Dec. 1576
Borghesi, Claudio, canonico senese e vescovo di Grosseto: 13/14 May 1573–19/20 Oct. 1579
Cornelio O.S.M.: 6/7 Aug. 1576–10/11 June 1578
Dati, Iacopo da Siena O.S.M.: 11/12 May 1571–11/12 June 1578
Deodato da Siena O.S.A.: 30/31 May 1573
Fanti, Girolamo, da Siena: 10/11 June 1578–3/4 Oct. 1579
Francesco da Montefiore O.F.M.: 28/29 Sept. 1573
Francesco O.S.M.: 9 Oct. 1557
Giovan Antonio O.S.A.: 16/17 Nov. 1557
Magistri, Arcangelo, da San Casciano O.P., priore di San Domenico: 14/15 Oct. 1572–19/20 Oct. 1579
Mancini, Paolo, da Siena O.S.A.: 19/20 June 1560–20/21 Jan. 1574
Milandrone, Fortunio, da Siena, prete: 18/19 June 1576–3/4 Oct. 1579
Naccarini, Giovan Maria, da Siena, rettore di Sant'Antonio: 19/20 Mar. 1576–19/20 Oct. 1579

Petrucchi, Girolamo da Siena, arcidiacono: 28/29 Jan. 1578–19/20 Oct. 1579
 Primaticchi, Gregorio, O.P.: 16/17 Nov. 1557–8 July 1574
 Rossi, Bernardino, da Siena, prete: 2/3 Oct. 1577–3/4 Oct. 1579
 Sembolli, Filippo, da Cortona O.S.M.: 29/30 Mar. 1575
 Stefano O.S.A.: 17/18 Oct. 1576
 Valentini, Francesco, da Siena, priore di Sant'Agostino: 10/11 Nov. 1563–16/19 Oct. 1573

INDEX OF THE KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE
 COLLEGE OF LEGISTS

Agazzari, Alessandro, da Siena: 21/22 Oct. 1562–6 Oct. 1579
 Azzolini, Agnolo: 12/13 July 1569
 Ballati, Giovan Battista, da Siena: 12/13 Apr. 1561–19/20 Oct. 1579
 Bandinelli, Girolamo, cavaliere: 17/18 May 1557–29/30 Mar. 1559
 Bandini, Fedro: 4/5 Apr. 1578–10/11 May 1578
 Bandini, Scipio, canonico senese: 7/8 Feb. 1561–8/9 Nov. 1578
 Bargagli, Celso, da Siena: 29/30 Apr. 1573–11/12 Sept. 1579
 Bargagli, Girolamo, da Siena: 18/19 Mar. 1567–11/12 Sept. 1579
 Benucci, Lactantio, da Siena: 10/11 April 1565–14/15 June 1569
 Benvoglianti, Girolamo, da Siena: 29/30 Oct. 1559–6 Oct. 1579
 Biringucci, Giovanni, da Siena: 23/24 June 1563
 Borghesi, Adriano, da Siena: 17/18 May 1557–21/22 Apr. 1579
 Borghesi, Camillo, da Siena, canonico senese: 7/8 Sept. 1577–30 April–1 May 1579
 Borghesi, Emilio, da Siena: 5/6 Oct. 1571
 Borghesi, Marcantonio, da Siena: 28/29 Oct. 1571
 Cerretani, Girolamo, da Siena: 28/29 Sept. 1575–25/26 July 1579
 Checconi, Leandro, da Siena: 11 Jan. 1570–9/10 July 1579
 Ciaia, Ottaviano, da Siena: 29/30 Oct. 1575–22/23 Aug. 1578
 Colombini, Panfilo, da Siena, cavaliere: 7/8 June 1560–19/20 Oct. 1579
 Colombini, Pier Luigi, da Siena: 8/9 June 1573
 Cosimi, Marcantonio: 8/9 June 1573
 Elci, Fausto dei conti d': 28/29 Oct. 1571
 Finetti, Polibio: 8/9 June 1573–25/26 July 1579
 Fondi, Scipio, da Siena, canonico senese: 29/30 Aug. 1559
 Forteguerrì, Ippolito, da Siena: 25/26 Jan. 1568–16/17 Mar. 1575
 Forteguerrì, Niccolò, da Siena: 24/25 May 1575–30/31 Mar. 1579

- Giorgi, Giovan Battista, da Siena: 6/7 Dec. 1575–20/21 May 1576
 Landucci, Marco, da Siena, cavaliere: 9/10 June 1564–1/2 Oct. 1579
 Lunadori, Romolo, da Siena: 15/16 Dec. 1576–4/5 Oct. 1578
 Malavolta: 29/30 Mar. 1559
 Malavolti, Adriano, da Siena, canonico senese: 13/14 Jan. 1567–21/22 Dec. 1575
 Manni, Aurelio, da Siena: 9/10 May 1562–6/7 June 1569
 Martini, Pier Paolo, da Siena: 17/18 Oct. 1565
 Ornoldo, Giovan Battista, da Siena: 13/14 May 1560–30 April/1 May 1579
 Palmieri, Camillo, da Siena: 21/22 July 1557–24 Feb. 1565
 Pecci, Lelio, da Siena: 19/20 June 1557–7 Sept. 1579
 Petrucci, Anton Maria, da Siena: 4/5 Apr. 1562–23/24 Sept. 1579
 Petrucci, Giovan Maria, da Siena, commendatore e preposito del Duomo di Siena, abate: 5/6 May 1563–16/17 Aug. 1573
 Petrucci, Giulio, da Siena, abate: 16/17 Nov. 1557–6/7 Oct. 1573
 Piccolomini, Giovan Battista, da Siena: 28 Feb./1 Mar. 1565–23/24 Sept. 1579
 Piccolomini, Lepido, da Siena, canonico senese: 20/21 Sept. 1576–7 Sept. 1579
 Placidi, Niccolò, da Siena: 3/4 Sept. 1570–19/20 Oct. 1579
 Pretiano, Ottavio, da Siena, canonico senese: 21/22 Dec. 1575–7/8 July 1579
 Sansedoni, Giulio, da Siena, preposito senese: 21/22 Aug. 1576–17/18 Feb. 1579
 Sansedoni, Orazio, da Siena: 2/3 July 1562–10/11 June 1572
 Santi, Achille, da Siena: 19/20 June 1557–19/20 Oct. 1579
 Santi, Ascanio: 6/7 Apr. 1568–22/23 July 1570
 Saracini, Ottavio: 20/21 Aug. 1573
 Sergardi, Achille, da Siena, canonico senese: 26/27 Sept. 1565–19/20 Oct. 1579
 Sozzini, Celso, da Siena: 24/25 May 1564–17/18 Oct. 1569
 Sozzini, Cesare, da Siena: 2/3 Jan. 1565
 Sozzini, Dario, da Siena: 23/24 June 1576
 Sozzini, Lelio, da Siena: 21/22 Mar. 1566
 Spannocchi Agnolo, da Siena: 18/19 Mar. 1567–5/6 Sept. 1574
 Spannocchi, Orazio, da Siena: 17/18 Aug. 1577–17/18 Oct. 1577
 Spannocchi, Silvio, da Siena: 4/5 Sept. 1571–25/26 July 1579
 Tano, Donato, da Siena, canonico senese: 31 Dec. 1569/1 Jan. 1570–16/17 Mar. 1575

Tano, Girolamo, da Siena: 14/15 May 1565–13/14 Jan. 1574
 Tantucci, Dionigi, da Siena: 5/6 May 1563–11/12 Sept. 1579
 Tolomei, Francesco, da Siena: 4 Jan. 1578–5/6 Apr. 1578
 Tolomei, Marcantonio, da Siena: 7/8 May 1572–5/6 Sept. 1579
 Tolomei, Rinaldo, da Siena: 13/14 Jan. 1561–6/7 Sept. 1564
 Tondi, Attilio, da Siena: 4/5 Apr. 1562–23/24 Sept. 1579
 Toro, Vittorio, da Siena: 17/18 Oct. 1569–27/28 Apr. 1573
 Trecirchi, Mino: 6/7 Aug. 1569
 Turamini, Virginio, da Siena: 15/16 May 1571–23/24 June 1579
 Turchi, Girolamo, da Siena: 11/12 Dec. 1574
 Ubertini, Agostino, da Siena: 16/17 Jan. 1565–17/18 Feb. 1579
 Ugurgieri, Agnolo, da Siena: 16/17 Nov. 1557–9/10 May 1579
 Zannettini, Gismondo, da Bologna: 19/20 Dec. 1569–4/5 Oct. 1578

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Agnolo da Monte Merano: 20/21 Dec. 1569
 Amerigi, Amerigo, cavaliere: 10/11 Sept. 1560–22/23 Oct. 1569
 Barratto, Demetrio, da Siena: 22/23 Dec. 1565–31 Jan./1 Feb. 1579
 Bartolucci, Andrea, da Siena: 10/11 Sept. 1560–27/28 Apr. 1578
 Benvoglianti, Achille, da Siena: 19 May 1560–27/28 Sept. 1579
 Bertucci, Filippo: 24/25 Feb. 1563–30/31 July 1566
 Biringucci, Cosimo, da Siena: 21/22 Jan. 1579
 Bucci, Agnolo, da Velona: 8/9 May 1563–27/28 Sept. 1579
 Buoninsegni, Francesco Carlo, da Siena: 29/30 Aug. 1560–4/6 Sept. 1570
 Buoninsegni, Francesco, da Siena: 19 May 1560–14/15 July 1574
 Buonsignori da Siena: 16/17 Aug. 1572
 Ciaia, Niccolò, da Siena: 27/28 Dec. 1564–31 Jan./1 Feb. 1579
 Crudele da Siena: 22 Mar. 1567
 Crudeli, Annibale, da Siena: 26/27 Nov. 1560–31 Jan./1 Feb. 1579
 Dantini, Claudio, da Siena: 25/26 June 1574–27/28 Sept. 1579
 Finetti, Niccolò, da Siena, cavaliere: 19 May 1560–27/28 Sept. 1579
 Gabrielli, Agnolo, da Siena: 10/11 May 1574–29/30 Apr. 1579
 Grazzini, Virgilio: 29/30 Aug. 1560
 Landi, Crescenzo, da Siena: 11/12 Sept. 1564–27/28 Sept. 1579
 Landini, Giovan Battista, da Siena: 20 Sept. 1561–29/30 Apr. 1579
 Lenzi, Lorenzo, da Siena: 7/8 Sept. 1575–27/28 Apr. 1578

Mancini, Bartolomeo, da Siena: 29/30 Aug. 1560–27/28 Apr. 1578
Mattioli, Muzio, da Siena, cavaliere: 20 Sept. 1561–23/23 Mar. 1573
Nuti, Ambrogio, da Siena, cavaliere: 29/30 Aug. 1560–8/9/ May 1563
Tommasi, Giugurta, da Siena: 12/13 Feb. 1575–27/28 Apr. 1578
Turi, Flaminio, da Siena: 1/2 Sept. 1575–5/6 Apr. 1576
Umidi, Cesare, da Siena: 19 May 1560–27/28 Oct. 1568
Veri, Giulio, da Siena, cavaliere: 19/20 Nov. 1569–23/24 Mar. 1573

APPENDIX IV

THE FINANCES OF THE STUDIO PISANO, THE STUDIO FIORENTINO, AND THE ACCADEMIA FIORENTINA

INTRODUCTION

The finances of the Studio pisano are known for most of the period from 1543/44. Apart from the salaries of professors and student lecturers, payments were made for the salaries of the rector, the superintendant (provveditore), the chancellor, the beadles, the accommodation officer, the cook, the anatomy cutter, the guard of the students' rooms (from 1563), the simples gardener (from 1583), and for other expenses. From 1556/57 payments were also made to the professors of the Studio fiorentino, and to the lecturers and officers (consul, censor, superintendant, chancellor, beadles) of the Accademia fiorentina. Payments to the Studio pisano and the Studio fiorentino were for twelve months from the beginning of the academic year. However, from 1574/75 payments to the Accademia fiorentina were for the year beginning on 25 March. Therefore, for example, the same balance of accounts records payments to the Studio pisano and the Studio fiorentino for 1574/75 but payments to the Accademia fiorentina for 1575/76. Sums are in fiorini, lire, soldi, and denari.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Balance</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1543–1549	52917, 3, 10, 1	55338, 19, 2, 0	2421, 15, 4, 0 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 159, fol. 3r	No totals are known for this year.
1543/44					
1544/45	Unspecified	8152, 6, 14, 8		BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 12r	
1545/46	Unspecified	8705, 3, 10, 0		BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 13r	
1546/47	Unspecified	9529, 0, 6, 8		BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 14r	

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Balance</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1547/48	Unspecified	9178, 2, 13, 4		BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 17r	
1548/49	Unspecified	10136, 2, 0, 0		BNCF, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 18v	
1549/50	10283, 6, 9, 4	12050, -, 15, 4	1766, 1, 6, - loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 160, fol. 2v.	
1550/51					No totals are known for this year.
1551/52					No totals are known for this year.
1552/53					No totals are known for this year.
1553/54					No totals are known for this year.
1554/55					No totals are known for this year.
1555/56					No totals are known for this year.
1556/57	13361, 4, 3, 6	14786, 6, 1, 10	1425, 1, 18, 4 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 161, fol. 3r.	
1557/58	6047, 1, 2, -	9331, 6, 5, 4	3284, 5, 3, 4 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 162, fol. 2r.	
1558/59	6715, -, 17, 9	10643, 5, 7, 5	3928, 4, 9, 8 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 163, fol. 3r.	
1559/60	9224, 3, 8, -	11997, 2, 19, 8	2702, 6, 11, 8 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 164, fol. 2v.	
1560/61	8234, 3, 12, 4	10408, 2, 1, -	2173, 5, 8, 8 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 165, fol. 1v.	
1561/62	8049, 1, 7, 8	9914, 6, 4, 8	1865, 4, 17, - loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 166, fol. 1v.	
1562/63	4910, 4, 12, 2	10329, 6, -, 4	5419, 1, 8, 2 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 167, fol. 2r.	
1563/64	11791, 2, 16, 4	14091, 4, 19, 2	2300, 2, 2, 10 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 168, fol. 2r.	
1564/65	9303, 4, 10, 8	10852, 5, 15, 2	1549, 1, 4, 6 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 169, fol. 2v.	
1565/66	4394, 6, 18, 3	10205, -, 1, 10	5810, -, 3, 7 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 170, fol. 2v.	
1566/67	14116, 1, 17, 6	14278, 1, 4, 7	161, 6, 7, 1 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 171, fol. 5r.	
1567/68	9044, 4, 4, 8	9074, 6, 2, 7	30, 1, 17, 11 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 172, fol. 3v.	

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Balance</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1568/69					No totals are known for this year.
1569/70	8700, -, -, -	8739, 5, 16, 6	39, 5, 16, 6	ASP, UdP, primo	
		16, 6	loss	deposito, 173, fol. 2r.	
1570/71	8002, -, 11, 8	8258, 2, 14, 2	256, 2, 2, 6	ASP, UdP, primo	
			loss	deposito, 174, fol. 2v.	
1571/72	9397, 6, 8, 4	9493, 4, 3, 6	95, 4, 15, 2	ASP, UdP, primo	
			loss	deposito, 175, fol. 2v.	
1572/73	8707, 6, -, -	8865, 6, 7, -	158, -, 7, -	ASP, UdP, primo	
			loss	deposito, 176, fol. 2r.	
1573/74	9400, -, -, -	9436, 3, 2, 4	36, 3, 2, 4	ASP, UdP, primo	
			loss	deposito, 177, prima parte, fol. 2v.	
1574/75	4714, 3, 10, -	4636, 2, 9, -	78, 1, 1, -	ASP, UdP, primo	
			loss	deposito, 177, seconda parte, fol. 2v.	
1575/76	3623, 5, 6, 8	3633, 4, 16, 8	9, 6, 10, -	ASP, UdP, primo	
			loss	deposito, 177, terza parte, fol. 2v.	
1576/77	Unspecified	8379, 6, 13, 4.		BNCE, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fols. 61r-61v.	
1577/78	Unspecified	8619, 7, 8, 12.		BNCE, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 62r.	
1578/79	Unspecified	8767, 6, 22, 12.		BNCE, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 63r.	
1579/80	Unspecified	9670, 5, 6, 8.		BNCE, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 63v.	
1580/81	Unspecified	8990, -, -, -.		BNCE, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 64r.	
1581/82	Unspecified	9211, 6, 9, 8.		BNCE, Ms. Corte d'Appello 3, fol. 64v.	
1582/83	9752, 1, 10, 5	9752, 1, 10, 5	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo	
				deposito, 178, prima parte, fol. 1v.	
1583/84	10469, -, 12, 11	10469, -, 12, 11	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo	
				deposito, 178, seconda parte, fol. 1r.	
1584/85	9987, 4, 9, 4	9987, 4, 9, 4	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo	
				deposito, 178, terza parte, fol. 1r.	
1585/86	11101, 4, 4, 8	11101, 4, 4, 8	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo	
				deposito, 179, seconda parte, fols. 1r, 5r.	
1586/87	10299, 6, 8, 4	10299, 6, 8, 4	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo	
				deposito, 179, terza parte, fol. 1r.	

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Balance</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1587/88	9508, 3, 5, 4	9921, 3, 16, 2	413, -, 10, 10 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 179, prima parte, fol. 1r.	
1588/89	10059, 6, 16, -	10249, -, 12, 3	159, -, 16, 3 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 180, terza parte, fols. 1v, 7v.	
1589/90	9807, 5, 4, 7	9909, -, 9, 7	101, 2, 5, - loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 180, seconda parte, fols. 1r, 7r.	
1590/91	10002, 1, 10, 10	10002, 1, 10, 10	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 180, prima parte, fol. 1r.	
1591/92	9052, 5, 15, 5	9052, 5, 15, 5	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 181, terza parte, fol. 1r.	
1592/93	10141, 6, 5, 10	10141, 6, 5, 10	Balanced	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 181, seconda parte, fol. 1r.	
1593/94	9881, 1, 18, -	9881, 2, 3, -	-, -, 5, - loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 181, prima parte, fol. 7v.	
1594/95	9314, 5, 18, 4	9392, 4, 2, 4	77, 5, 4, - loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 182, terza parte, fol. 6v.	
1595/96	8998, 4, 4, 6	9016, -, 10, 2	17, 3, 5, 8 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 182, seconda parte, fol. 8r.	
1596/97	9002, 5, 19, 7	9004, 1, 2, 8	1, 2, 3, 4 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 182, prima parte, fol. 8r.	
1597/98	8805, 6, 2, 10	8712, 1, 11, 6	93, 4, 11, 4 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 183, terza parte, fol. 1v.	
1598/99	8946, 3, 16, 2	8947, 3, -, 11	-, 6, 4, 9 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 183, seconda parte, fol. 1v.	
1599/1600	8467, 3, 9, -	8512, 1, 9, 9	44, 5, -, 9 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 183, prima parte, fol. 7v.	
1600/01					No totals are known for this year.
1601/02	7899, 1, 2, 7	7903, 6, 4, 8	4, 5, 2, 1 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 184, fol. 7r.	
1602/03	8250, 5, 7, 11	8291, 6, 9, 4	41, 1, 1, 5 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 185, fol. 1v.	
1603/04	8612, 4, 4, 4	8578, 2, -, 4	34, 2, 4, - loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 187, fol. 1r.	

Table (*cont.*)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Balance</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1604/05	8675, 2, 15, 9	8607, 1, 5, 1	131, 5, 9, 4 loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 188, fol. 2v.	
1605/06	9981, -, 13, 4	9940, -, 8, 8	41, -, 4, 8 profit	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 189, fol. 1r.	
1606/07	8692, 1, 5, -	8665, 4, 19, 4	26, 3, 5, 8 profit	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 190, fol. 1r.	
1607/08	8993, 1, 8, 3	8994, 6, 6, 3	1, 4, 18, - loss	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 191, fol. 1r.	
1608/09	7747, 3, 3, 4	7579, 6, -, 3	167, 4, 3, 1 profit	ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 192, fol. 1v	

APPENDIX V

PAYMENTS TO PROFESSORS AT THE STUDIO PISANO, THE STUDIO FIORENTINO, AND THE ACCADEMIA FIORENTINA

INTRODUCTION

From 1543/44 payments were made to professors at the Studio pisano. From 1555/56 payments were made to lecturers and officers of the Accademia fiorentina. From 1556/57 payments were also made to professors at the Studio fiorentino. For the years 1568/69 and 1575/76 to 1581/82, only a 1620s copy of the payment records survives. This copy focuses primarily on payments regarding the Studio pisano.

Payments are in *fiorini*, *lire*, *soldi*, and *denari*.

1543/44

Maestro Romolo Lorenzi da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 57, 2, 10, -
Maestro Girolamo Angelucci da Osimo O.S.A. Teologia. 34, 5, 8, -
Messer Francesco Cosci da Siena, decano di Siena. Diritto canonico. 500, -, -, -
Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico. 148, 8, 7, -
Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario. 800, -, -, -
Messer Marcantonio Bellarmati da Siena. Diritto civile. 500, -, -, -
Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
Messer Giovanni Buoncompagni da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
Messer Giovanni Rinieri da Colle. Diritto civile. 148, 8, 7, -
Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 25, 14, 4, -
Maestro Matteo da Corte da Pavia. Medicina sopraordinario. 1200, -, -, -
Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
Maestro Leonardo Giacchini da Empoli. Medicina teorica straordinario. 300, -, -, -
Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 130, -, -, -
Maestro Marco Antonio Quarantotti da Montecatini. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
Maestro Francesco Gallo da Pontremoli. Medicina. 257, 2, 10, -
Messer Branda Porro da Milano. Filosofia. 450, -, -, -
Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze. Filosofia. 217, 2, 10, -
Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia straordinario. 200, -, -, -
Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Filosofia straordinario. 74, 5, 8, -
Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. Logica sopraordinario. 214, 5, 8, -
Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Logica. 22, 17, 2, -
Messer Giovan Francesco Beato da Venezia. Metafisica. 194, 5, 8, -
Maestro Alessandro da Montefalco. Metafisica. 57, 2, 10, -

Maestro Giuliano Ristori da Prato O.Carm. Astrologia/mathematica. 74, 5, 8, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 148, 8, 7, -
 Messer Francesco Robertello da Udine. Humanista. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Mestiani da Pisa. Studente. Istituzioni civili. 5, 14, 4, -
 Messer Selvatico Guidi da Volterra. Studente. Diritto civile straordinario. Per sei mesi. 8, 11, 5, -
 Messer Angelo Romani da Arezzo. Studente. Diritto canonico. Per sei mesi. 8, 11, 5, -
 Messer Bastiano Biondi da Castrocaro. Studente. Medicina. Per sei mesi. 8, 11, 5, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 159, fols. 15r-17r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 6r-8v.

1544/45

Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 57, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Girolamo Angelucci da Osimo O.S.A. Teologia. 34, 5, 9, -
 Messer Francesco Cosci da Siena, decano di Siena. Diritto canonico. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico. 148, 11, 5, -
 Messer Vincenzo Godemi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico. 148, 11, 5, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile. 857, 2, 10, -
 Messer Ansuino de' Medici da Camerino. Diritto civile. 642, 17, 2, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Rinieri da Colle. Diritto civile. 148, 11, 5, -
 Messer Giovanni Roncagalli da Ferrara. Diritto civile. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Maria de' Nobili da Genova. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 25, 14, 4, -
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argenterio. Medicina ordinario. 267, 17, 2, -
 Maestro Francesco da Pontremoli. Medicina. 257, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina straordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Maestro Leonardo Giacchini da Empoli. Medicina teorica. 300, -, -, -
 Maestro Marcantonio da San Gimignano. Medicina pratica. 300, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Mathematica. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Branda Porro da Milano. Filosofia. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze. Filosofia. 217, 2, 10, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia straordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. Logica. 214, 5, 9, -
 Maestro Tommaso Pellegrini da Cattaro. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. [Logica?] 22, 17, 2
 Maestro Giovan Francesco Beato. Metafisica. 194, 5, 9
 Maestro Alessandro da Montefalco. Metafisica. 57, 2, 10
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Mathematica. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. [Greco] 148, 11, 5, -
 Messer Francesco Robertello da Udine. Humanista. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Selvatico Guidi da Volterra. Studente. Diritto civile straordinario. 17, 2, 10, -
 Messer Angelo Romani da Arezzo. Studente. Diritto canonico. 17, 2, 10, -
 Messer Tommaso Ferrari e l'altro studente in arti per lezioni straordinario in arti 28, 11, 5

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 159, fols. 17v-19v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 11v-12r.

1545/46

Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Francesco Cosci da Siena, decano di Siena. [Diritto canonico?] 500, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. [Diritto canonico?] 250, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Godemi da Pistoia. [Diritto canonico?] 148, 11, 5, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. [Diritto canonico?] 148, 11, 5,
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile. 857, 2, 10, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. [Diritto civile?] 500, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Roncagalli da Ferrara. Diritto civile. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatico Guidi da Volterra. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Leonardo Maria de' Nobili da Genova. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Gherardo Masi. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltrami da Colle. [Istituzioni civili?] 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina straordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Gallo da Pontremoli. [Medicina?] 257, 2, 10,
 Maestro Leonardo Giacchini da Empoli. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. Medicina teorica. 300, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano Paparelli delle Marche. [Medicina teorica?] 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Marcantonio da San Gimignano. [Pratica?] 300, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Porzio da Napoli. Filosofia. 857, 2, 10, -
 Messer Branda Porro da Milano. Filosofia. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze. Filosofia. 217, 2, 10, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia straordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. [Logica?] 214, 5, 9, -
 Maestro Tommaso Pellegrino da Cattaro. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Logica. 22, 17, 2, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Baldini da Firenze. Logica. 22, 17, 2, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Beato da Venezia. Metafisica. 194, 5, 9, -
 Maestro Girolamo Baldeschi. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giuliano Ristori da Prato O.Carm. [Astrologia?] 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. [Greco?] 148, 11, 5, -
 Messer Francesco Robertello da Udine. Humanista. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cervoni da Colle. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 2, 10, -
 Messer Cesare Nasi da Bibbiena. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 2, 10, -
 Due studenti in arti per lezioni in medicina e filosofia. 28, 11, 5, -

Sources: ASP, UDP, primo deposito, 159, fols. 20r–22r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 12v–13r.

1546/47

Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 57, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Girolamo Angelucci da Osimo O.S.A. Teologia. 38, 2, 10, -
 Messer Zanobi dell'Aiolle. Teologia¹

¹ For four months. 33, 6, 8, -

Messer Giovan Battista Castiglioni da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. [Diritto canonico?] 200, -, -, -.²
 Messer Vincenzo Godemi da Pistoia. [Diritto canonico?] 148, 11, 5, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile. 1071, 8, 7, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto civile. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. [Diritto civile?] 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Roncagalli da Ferrara. [Diritto civile?] 150, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatco Guidi da Volterra. Diritto civile. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. [Criminale?] 70, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Maria de' Nobili da Genova. Istituzioni civili. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Istituzioni civili. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Gherardo Masi. Istituzioni civili. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Domenico Bonsi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Angelo Romani da Arezzo. [Istituzioni civili?] 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. [Medicina?] 400, -, -, -.³
 Messer Leonardo Giaccini da Empoli. Medicina ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Gallo da Pontremoli. [Medicina?] 257, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. Medicina teorica [straordinario?] 300, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano Paparelli delle Marche. [Medicina teorica?] 100, -, -, -.⁴
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Ferrara. Medicina pratica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Porzio da Napoli. Filosofia. 857, 2, 10, -
 Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia straordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Filosofia straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. [Logica?] 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Pellegrini da Cattaro. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Baldini da Firenze. Logica. 22, 17, 2, -
 Maestro Giovan Francesco Beato da Venezia. [Metafisica?] ? 225, -, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo Baldeschi. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giuliano Ristori da Prato O.Carm. [Astrologia?] 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. L'herbolaio. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Realdo Colombo da Cremona. Anatomia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. [Greco?] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Robertello da Udine. Humanista. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cervoni da Colle. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Niccolò frate del Carmine. Studente. [Subject not specified] 14, 5, 9, -
 Messer Piero Portigiani. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 2, 10, -
 Messer Michele Fosco. Studente. Medicina. 14, 5, 9, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 159, fols. 22v–24v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 13r–14r.

² Nerucci also received 50, -, -, - 'di donatino da Sua Eccellenza'.

³ Boldoni also received 107, 2, 10, - 'per donatino di Sua Eccellenza'.

⁴ Paparelli also received 50, -, -, - 'di donatino da Sua Eccellenza'.

1547/48

Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 57, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Girolamo Angelucci da Osimo O.S.A. Teologia. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Castiglioni da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Godemi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario. 1071, 8, 7, 1
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Roncagalli da Ferrara. Diritto civile. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Diritto civile straordinario. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Lorenzo Maria de' Nobili da Genova. Diritto civile straordinario. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Selvatico Guidi da Volterra. Diritto civile straordinario. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bonsi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Angelo Romani da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Piero Portigiani da San Miniato. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Luigi Cellesi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Niccolò Boldani da Milano. Medicina teorica. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. Medicina teorica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Baldini da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano Paparelli delle Marche. Medicina teorica straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Ferrara. Medicina pratica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica. 400, -, -, ⁵
 Messer Remigio da Borgo San Sepolcro. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Filosofia straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Strozzi da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Porzio da Napoli. Filosofia superordinario. 857, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Tommaso Pellegrini da Cattaro. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo da Monte Vetterno [?]. Logica. 22, 17, 2, -
 Maestro Girolamo Rossetti da Firenze O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giuliano Ristori da Prato O.Carm. Astrologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Leonardi [delle Bertucce] da Firenze. Mathematica. 20, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 266, 13, 4, -
 Messer Realdo Colombo da Cremona. Anatomia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Robertello da Udine. Humanista. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Marcati. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 2, 10, -
 Messer Matteo da Barga. Studente. Diritto canonico. 12, 17, 2, -

⁵ Guidi also received 100, -, -, - 'come medico ducale'.

Messer Leonardo/Luca [?] Sonzini. Studente. Filosofia. 11, 8, 7, -
 Messer Camillo da Città di Castello. Studente. Medicina. 8, 11, 5, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 159, fols. 25v-28r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 16r-17r.

1548/49

Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo Angelucci da Osimo O.S.A. Teologia. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Castiglioni da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Godemi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Boni da Cortona. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Ottavio Landi. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile. 1071, 8, 7, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Roncagalli da Ferrara. Diritto civile. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Diritto civile straordinario. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Silvatico Guidi da Volterra. Diritto civile straordinario. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 57, 2, 10, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Romani da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Piero Portigiani. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Patteri da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 14, 4, -
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina teorica. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco del Garbo da Firenze. Medicina teorica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano Paparelli delle Marche. Medicina pratica. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina pratica. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Baldini dalla Strada. Medicina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. Medicina pratica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Ferrara. Medicina pratica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Strozzi da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Porzio da Napoli. Filosofia sopraordinario. 857, 2, 10, -
 Maestro Tommaso Pellegrini da Cattaro. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Mario Marradi da Marradi. Sofistico. 22, 17, 2, -
 Messer Camillo Mannucci da Città di Castello. Sofistico. 22, 17, 2, -
 Messer Piero Cappello da Firenze. Sofistico. 22, 17, 2, -
 Messer Luca Antonio Bonuccelli da Camaione. Sofistico. 22, 17, 2, -
 Messer Girolamo Baldeschi. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giuliano Ristori da Prato O.Carm. Mathematica. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Leonardi [delle Bertucce] da Firenze. Mathematica. 20, -, -, -

Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Gabriele Falloppio da Modena. Anatomista. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Robertello da Udine. Humanista. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano. Studente. Diritto civile.
 Messer Niccolò Pilli [?]. Studente. Diritto canonico.
 Messer Daniello. Studente. Medicina.
 Messer Tommaso. Studente. Filosofia.⁶

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 159, fols. 28v–31r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 17v–18v.

1549/50

Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Diritto canonico della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Godemi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico della sera. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatico Guidi da Volterra. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Landi. Diritto civile straordinario. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 1071, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Roncagalli da Ferrara. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Boni da Cortona. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Romani da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -⁷
 Messer Niccolò Pilli da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili. 30, 3, 6, 8⁸
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina teorica della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano Paparelli delle Marche. Medicina pratica della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina pratica della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo di Leonardo Baldini. Medicina pratica della mattina. 42, 2, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. Medicina pratica della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Strozzi da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Porzio da Napoli. Filosofia sopraordinario. 857, 1, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Pellegrini da Cattaro. Logica ordinario. 120, -, -, -

⁶ The total of the salaries of the four students was 57, 2, 10, -.

⁷ He also received 22, 3, 10, - 'per la pigione di sua casa'.

⁸ For eight months.

Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Logica ordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Mannucci da Città di Castello. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Luca Antonio Bonuccelli da Camaione. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Bonucci da Arezzo. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Baldeschi O.F.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giuliano Ristori da Prato O.Carm. Astrologia e mathematica. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica giorni festivi. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Leonardi [delle Bertucce] da Firenze. Mathematica giorni festivi. 10, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista/'lettere latine e greche'. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Gabriele Falloppio da Modena. Anatomia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Titio da Castiglione fiorentino. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ruggieri da Arezzo. Studente. Medicina. 11, 3, -, -
 Messer Francesco Cusebeni da Borgo San Sepolcro. Studente. Filosofia. 11, 3, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Studente. Diritto canonico. 17, 1, -, -

Sources: ASP, UDP, primo deposito, 160, fols. 20r–23r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 20r–20v.

1550/51

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia. 'per commissione di Sua Eccellenza Illustrissima'. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Diritto canonico. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatice Guidi da Volterra. Diritto canonico. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Boni da Cortona. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile 1071, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Guicciardini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina teorica. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina teorica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Enrico Mattisi da Germania. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Ercole Lingua ebraica. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Ferrara. Medicina pratica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. [Pratica?] 300, -, -, -⁹

⁹ He also received 100, -, -, - 'pel donatino' of the duke.

Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. Filosofia straordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Porzio da Napoli. Filosofia supraordinario. 1285, 5, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Strozzi da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Pellegrini da Cattaro. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Mannucci da Città di Castello. Logica. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Luca Antonio Bonuccelli da Camaiore. Logica. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Bonucci da Arezzo. Logica. 22, 6, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo Baldeschi. Metafisica. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Massimo Aquilani da Pisa. Mathematica. 20, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 400, -, -, -
 Maestro Gabriele Falloppio da Modena. Anatomia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lettere greche. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. All'humanità. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Matteo Romani dal Borgo. [Student?] Diritto civile. 17, 1, -, -
 Messer Cosimo dalla Pieve. [Student?] Diritto canonico. 17, 1, -, -
 Messer Andrea da Arezzo. Fisici. [Student?] 11, 3, -, -
 Messer Cola da Sicilia. Medicina. [Student?] 11, 3, -, -

Source: BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 21v-22v.

1551/52

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltrami da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Selvatico Guidi da Volterra. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 1071, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mandelli da Alba. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Bucine prete da San Miniato. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Guicciardini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 15, 1, 13, 4¹⁰
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina teorica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Enrico Mattisi tedesco. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -

¹⁰ For four months.

Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Ferrara. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. Medicina pratica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati dal Borgo San Sepolcro. Filosofia ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Lapini da Firenze 'o i suoi heredi'. Filosofia ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Porzio da Napoli. Filosofia sopraordinario. 1285, 5, -, -
 Messer Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Strozzi da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Logica della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Agamennone Salviani da Castello. Logica della mattina. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Mannucci da Città di Castello. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Luca Antonio Bonuccelli da Camaione. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ciuschenini da Borgo San Sepolcro. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Bonucci da Arezzo. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Baldeschi da Montefalco. Metafisica. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Massimo Aquilani da Pisa. Mathematica. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lettere greche. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 150, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -

Source: BNCf, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 23v-24v.

1552/53

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Diritto canonico della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatico Guidi da Volterra. Diritto canonico. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Boni da Cortona. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario. 1071, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mandelli da Alba. Diritto civile ordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Buonaparte da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Baroncelli. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Boldoni da Milano. Medicina teorica. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo da Barga. Medicina teorica. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina teorica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Maestro Piero Cappelli da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Ferrara. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -

Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. Medicina pratica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Strozzi da Firenze. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Agamennone Salviani da Castello. Logica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Simone Bruno O.Carm. Logica 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Raffaello Nuti O.Carm. Logica straordinario. 22, 6, -, -
 Messer Luca Antonio Bonuccelli da Camaiore. Chirurgia. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo Baldeschi O.F.M. Metafisica. 120, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Massimo Aquilani da Pisa. Mathematica. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Martino Buonfanti. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 1, -, -
 Messer Meggio Bazzanti. Studente. Medicina. 11, 3, -, -
 Messer Cesare Castronovo. Studente. Filosofia. 11, 3, -, -

Source: BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 25v-26v.

1553/54

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatico Guidi da Volterra. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Boni da Cortona. Diritto civile ordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Simone Piero Pitta da Pisa, canonico pisano. Diritto civile. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Martino Buonfanti da San Casciano. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario. 1071, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mandelli da Alba. Diritto civile ordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Guicciardini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Buonaparte da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Baroncelli. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina teorica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Maiorchino. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Sozzino Benzi da Ferrara. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. [Subject not specified] 400, -, -, -

Messer Remigio Migliorati da Borgo San Sepolcro. [Subject not specified] 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. [Subject not specified] 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Strozzi da Firenze. [Subject not specified] 150, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borri da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Maestro Simone Alessandro Bruno O.Carm. Logica della mattina. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Logica della mattina. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Raffaello Nuti O.Carm. Logica della sera. 22, 6, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo Baldeschi. Metafisica. 120, -, -, -
 Maestro Massimo Aquilani da Pisa. Mathematica. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Lucantonio Buonucello. Chirurgia. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 150, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -

Source: BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 27r–27v.

1554/55

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista degli Asini da Firenze. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatico Guidi da Volterra. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Boni da Cortona. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Simone Piero Pitta da Pisa, canonico pisano. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Martino da San Casciano. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Beltramini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.¹¹ 170, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.¹² 150, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vegio da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 1071, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Fisico. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Fisico. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Massimo Aquilani da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Argentieri da Castelnuovo d'Asti. [Subject not specified] 133, 2, 6, 8
 Messer Girolamo Borri da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Simone Alessandro Bruno O.Carm. Logica. 30, -, -, -

¹¹ Sic: mattina?

¹² Sic: mattina?

Maestro Bastiano da Poppi. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Raffaello Nuti O.Carm. Logica della sera. 22, 6, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo Baldeschi. Metafisica. 120, -, -, -
 Maestro Luca Ghini da Imola. Semplici. 133, 2, 6, 8¹³
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Anatomia. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 150, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 161, fol. 17r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 28r–29r.

1555/56

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Urbino. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Pierantonio Nerucci da San Gimignano. Diritto canonico ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Silvatiko Guidi da Volterra. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario desero. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Piero Pitta da Pisa, canonico pisano. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerni da Pavia. Diritto civile della sera. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Paterno da Salò. Medicina teorica. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Massimo Aquilani da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borri da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano da Poppi. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Carlo da San Niccolò. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Logica soprordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 200, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Dante. 24, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 161, fol. 15r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 30r–31r.

¹³ For four months.

1556/57

- Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Piero Pitta da Pisa, canonico pisano. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerno da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Buonaparte da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Stefano Bonfiglio da Messina. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Paterno da Salò. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -.
 Logica sopraordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borri da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Bastiano da Poppi. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 30, -, -, -. He also received 25, -, -, -
 ‘per la tagliatura della anatomia’.
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lettere greche. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 200, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia. Allo Studio fiorentino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Greco e filosofia morale. Allo Studio fiorentino. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanità. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. All’Accademia fiorentina. Dante. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio Torelli da Fano. Console dell’Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Diacceto. Censore dell’Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 161, fols. 15r–17v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d’appello 3, fols. 31r–32v.

1557/58

- Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -

Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Piero Pitta da Pisa, canonico pisano. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Migliorati da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerni da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Ridolfi da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, ⁻¹⁴
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Stefano Bonfiglio da Messina. Istituzioni civili. 15, -, -, ⁻¹⁵
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Benincasa Benincasi da Perugia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Paterno da Salò. Medicina teorica ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica sopraordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina pratica. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borri da Arezzo. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Agosto Titio da Castiglione. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Menocchi da Pontremoli. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Chirurgia ed anatomia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanità in lingue greca et latina. 200, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Greco. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanità. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Dante. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. [Subject not specified] 12, -, -, ⁻¹⁶
 Messer Francesco da Diacceto. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Covoni da Firenze. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 162, fols. 15r–18r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 33r–34r.

¹⁴ He also received 30, -, -, - at the wish of the duke.

¹⁵ For four months before returning to Sicily.

¹⁶ For six months.

1558/59

Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Concini da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 66, 4, 13, 4.¹⁷
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena. Diritto civile della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerni da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Ridolfi da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -¹⁸
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Benincasa Benincasi da Perugia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina sopraordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borri da Arezzo. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Selvaggio Ghettoni da Pisa. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Agosto Titio da Castiglione. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Chirurgia ed anatomia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lettere greche. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Serguidi. Studente. Diritto civile. 17, 1, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Migliorati dal Borgo. Studente. Diritto canonico. 17, 1, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Sala maiorchino. Studente. Medicina. 11, 3, -, -
 Don Filippo da San Michele matematico. Studente. Filosofia. 7, 4, 6, 8.¹⁹
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanità. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. [Subject not specified] 24, -, -, -

¹⁷ For eight months.

¹⁸ He also received 30, -, -, - at the wish of the duke.

¹⁹ For eight months.

Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. [Subject not specified] 24, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Covoni da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Fabio Segni da Firenze. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, Udp, primo deposito, 163, fols. 15r–18r; ASP, Udp, primo deposito, 164, fols. 15r, 17r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 34v–36r, 37r, 37v.

1559/60

Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Concini da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 46, 4, 13, 4²⁰
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Malavolti da Siena 'e suoi heredi perche oggi morto'. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerno da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Ridolfi da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -²¹
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Feudi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Benincasa Benincasi da Perugia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Pier Agnolo Anselmi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Gasparo Torelli dal Borgo San Sepolcro. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Cristoforo Blancardo da Marsilia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica sopraordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli. Filosofia straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 53, 2, 6, 8²²
 Messer Agosto Titio da Castiglione. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Migliavacca da Asti O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo da Cardone. Metafisica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -

²⁰ For eight months.

²¹ He also received 30, -, -, - at the wish of the duke.

²² For eight months.

Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Anatomia e chirurgia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 250, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Greco. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanista. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. Dante. All'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. Petrarca. All'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Tanci da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Diacceto. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 164, fols. 15r–18r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 37r–38r.

1560/61

Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Concini da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerni da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -²³
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Benincasa Benincasi da Perugia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Pier Antonio Anselmi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Gasparo Torelli dal Borgo San Sepolcro. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Ugolini. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Feudi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Maestro Raffaele Orsighi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina sopraordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -

²³ He also received 30, -, -, - at the wish of the duke.

Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Logica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Logica ordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica ordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo de Cardines spagnolo. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 125, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica straordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lettere del grecho. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Chirurgia ed anatomia. 80, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Lettere greche. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Dante. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Ferrini da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio Torelli da Fano. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -
Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 165, fols. 15r–17r; ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 166, fol. 15v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 38v–40r, 41r.

1561/62

Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo dalla Pieve O.S.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerno da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -²⁴
 Messer Pier Agnolo Anselmi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Gasparo Torelli dal Borgo. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Ugolini. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Feudi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 350, -, -, -²⁵
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -

²⁴ Capponi also received 30, -, -, - at the wish of the duke.

²⁵ Angeli also received 50, -, -, - 'per l'augumento dell'anno'.

Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Maestro Raffaele Orsilaghi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina sopraordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo de Cardines spagnolo. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Budrio. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ottonari da Firenze. Mathematica. 125, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica straordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lettere greche. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Chirurgia ed anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Greco. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanista. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Dante. 36, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio del Caccia da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 166, fols. 15r–17v; ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 167, fol. 15v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 40v–42r, 43v.

1562/63

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia giorni festivi. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo dalla Pieve O.S.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Plauzio da Fontanella. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Salerno da Pavia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -²⁶

²⁶ Capponi also received 30, -, -, - at the wish of the duke.

- Messer Pier Agnolo Anselmi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Becci da Castiglione. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Calefati da Piombino. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Nerucci da San Gimignano. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Feudi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 350, -, -, -²⁷
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Raffaele Orsilaghi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina sopraordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo de Cardines spagnolo. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Lettere greche. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Ponzanelli da Sarzana. Chirurgia ed anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Antonio Malegonnelli da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Greco. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanista. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Gelli da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Dante. 36, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio del Migliore da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano Antinori da Firenze. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 167, fols. 15r–18r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 43r–44v.

²⁷ Angeli was paid this at the wish of the duke, whom he had accompanied to Spain. He had not taught.

1563/64

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia giorni festivi. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Paradiso Mazzinghi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Plauzio da Fontanella. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera e Feudi giorni festivi. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Antonio Anselmi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Bardelloni da Mantova. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Becci da Castiglione. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Calefati da Piombino. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Nerucci da San Gimignano. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica. 400, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Ferrini da Pisa. Medicina straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Monsignor Guido Guido da Firenze. Medicina pratica sporaordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Medicina pratica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Girolamo de Cardines spagnolo. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Lettura delli herbi. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. Greco. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanità. 300, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -

Messer Antonio Malegonnelli da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Humanità. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Baccio Valori da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Rondinelli da Firenze. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 168, fols. 15r–18r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 45v–47r.

1564/65

Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Teologia giorni festivi. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Maestro Cornelio da Ferrara O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Plauzio da Fontanella. Diritto civile della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile della sera. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Carlo Bardelloni da Mantova. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo del Vigna da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Calefati da Piombino. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Becci da Castiglione. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Nerrucci da San Gimignano. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiano da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Monsignor Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina sopraordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Medicina pratica della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Logica. 80, -, -, -

Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. 'dell'herbe'. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi da Firenze. 'delle morali d'Aristotele'. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Latino e greco/Humanità. 300, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Antonio Malegonnelli da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. 'delle morali'. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino e greco. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca giorni festivi. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Bastiano Antinori da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Ferrini da Firenze. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UDP, primo deposito, 169, fols. 15r-18v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 48r-49r.

1565/66

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Cornelio da Ferrara O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio de Pretis da Conselice. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Piero Pitta da Pisa, canonico pisano. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Civil law della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Plauzio da Fontanella. Diritto civile della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Pescia. Diritto civile della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile della sera. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Carlo Bardelloni da Mantova. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Calefati da Piombino. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Becci da Castiglione. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Matteo Sanminiati. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Nerucci da San Gimignano. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Pier Michele Giaccaracci da Sardegna. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiano da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -

Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Monsignor Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina soprordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Vivoli da Firenze. Medicina pratica. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco da Pisa di San Niccolò O.S.A. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Semplici. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Mathematica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Chirico Strozzi. 'delle morali'/'alla lettura Greca'. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Latino e greco. 300, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Malegonnelli da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Verini. Allo Studio fiorentino. 'delle morali greche'/'alla lettura Greca'. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanità. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Lionardo Salviati da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 170, fols. 15r–18v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 49v–51r.

1566/67

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Cornelio da Ferrara O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Plauzio da Fontanella. Diritto civile della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Ippolito della Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Alessandro della Vena da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Carlo Bardelloni da Mantova. Diritto civile straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Becci da Castiglione. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Lenzoni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Nerucci da San Gimignano. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili 'il giorno'. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Istituzioni civili 'il giorno'. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Monsignor Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica sopraordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia e chirurgia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. 'del greco e latino d'Humanità'. 300, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Malegonnelli da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. 'delle morali greche d'Aristotele'. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanità. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Pitti da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 171, fols. 15r-19v; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 52r-53r.

1567/68

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Cornelio da Ferrara O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Pattieri da Pisa. Diritto canonico della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Plauzio da Fontanella. Diritto civile della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Pizzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 150, -, -, -

Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Ippolito della Seta. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Vena da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Lenzone da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle Valdelsa Istituzioni civili della sera. 80, -, -, -
 Monsignor Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina pratica sopraordinario. 600, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica sopraordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Filosofia straordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Logica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Budrio. Metafisica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Lettere greche et latine. 400, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillio di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Martino di Piero Spigliati. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Greco 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. 'Lettere humattina'. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Benivieni da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 172, fols. 15r–20r; BNCF, Ms. Carte d'appello 3, fols. 53v–55r.

1568/69²⁸

²⁸ No records of payments survive from this year but some backpayments were made in 1569/70.

1569/70²⁹

Messer Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 263, 2, 5, -³⁰
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario.³¹
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Vena da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 51, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile. 453, 2, 15, -³²
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. A Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 86, 4, 1, 8
 Messer Alessandro Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle Valdelsa Istituzioni civili. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Lionardo di Ser Luca Fabbroni. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Castagnero da Sardegna. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 36, 2, 14, 4
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina sopraordinario. 515, 5, 10, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina. 410, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina ordinario. 220, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Portogallo. Medicina straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina straordinario. 53, 4, -, -³³
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. A Pisa. 'delle morali'. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia. 295, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -³⁴
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 151, -, -, -³⁵
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 135, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 125, -, -, -

²⁹ The payments for this year are confused. They also include some backpayments for 1568/69. Some of these backpayments are explicit but others may be implicit given the unusual sums paid.

³⁰ Includes money owed for 1568/69.

³¹ Includes money owed for 1568/69. 70, 1, -, -.

³² Includes money owed for 1568/69.

³³ Includes money owed for 1568/69.

³⁴ Includes money owed for 1568/69.

³⁵ Includes money owed for 1568/69.

Eredi di Messer Simon Portio da Napoli. Filosofia. 2, 1, 3, 4
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 130, 2, 18, -
 Messer Luigi Benvenuti da Firenze. Logica. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio. Metafisica. 145, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 74, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 110, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 140, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 50, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 45, 5, -, - [sic]
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Greco?] 383, 5, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Humanità?] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, 4, 16, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina.³⁶ 26, -, -, - [sic]

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 173, fols. 11r–16r.

1570/71

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 175, 14, 8, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 220, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario 'il giorno'. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Martino di Piero Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Feudi. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Istituzioni civili. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Castagnero da Sardegna. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina sopraordinario. 503, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. [Medicina teorica?] 410, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 250, -, -, -

³⁶ The payment is for Messer Tommaso del Nero da Firenze (the consul) and Messer Francesco Lenzoni da Firenze (the censor).

Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 210, -, -,
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina straordinario. 66, 3, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Giovan Battista Verini da Firenze. Filosofia. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Michele Verini da Firenze. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 125, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 111, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. At Pisa. 330, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Greco/filosofia morale?] 216, 2, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Humanità?] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Astudiglio spagnolo. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Compagni. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 47, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 24, 4, 16, -
 Messer Lorenzo Niccolini da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Benivieni da Firenze. Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 174, fols. 9r-14v.

1571/72

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 79, 6, 5, 4
 Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario. 70, 5, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Guido da Lucca 'prete e cavaliere'. Diritto canonico straordinario. 37, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 430, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Romulei. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 380, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile straordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Capponi da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -

- Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Feudi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Istituzioni civili della sera. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. [Istituzioni civili?] 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Castagnero da Sardegna. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 40, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. 'Medico del Serenissimo Principe Signore Nostro e per commissione di Sua Altezza con titolo di sopraordinario di medicina nello Studio di Pisa'. 587, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 330, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina straordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Giovan Battista Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio de' Nobili da Lucca. Filosofia. 188, -, 13, 4
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Michele Verini da Firenze. Logica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 170, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 80, -, -, -
 Fra Egnazio Danti da Perugia O.P. Mathematica. 36, -, -, ³⁷
 Messer Tommaso Mermann da Germania. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanista. A Pisa. 407, 1, -, -
 Tre studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi: Messer Gianantonio Palon da Sardegna 11, 3, -, -; Messer Iacopo Pinelli da Fordinuovo 17, 1, -, -; Messer Felitiano Pichi dal Borgo San Sepolcro 17, 1, -, -.
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. 'delle morali'. 371, 6, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Humanità?] 110, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 67, 2, 4, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 10, 4, 16, -
 Messer Lodovico Martelli da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 175, fols. 9r-15r

³⁷ Danti also received 100, -, -, - 'per rescritto del Serenissimo Gran Duca Signore Nostro'.

1572/73

- Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa, canonico pisano. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario. 185, 5, 8, 10
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Guerrazzi da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito della Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 64, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Panuzzi da Pistoia. Diritto canonico straordinario. 61, 3, -, -
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario. 44, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 570, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario il giorno. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Romulei da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guidi da Volterra. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Lionardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Feudi. 72, 6, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa, canonico pisano. Istituzioni civili. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Istituzioni civili 'il giorno'. 48, 5, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili 'il giorno'. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Cantucci da Firenze Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 33, 2, 14, 4
 Messer Iacopo Castagnero da Sardegna. Istituzioni civili. 30, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi dalla Strada 'medico di Sua Altezza Serenissima alquale
 ella ha assegnato la provvisione che si daa al Bar[tolomeo] contitolo di sopraordinario di
 medicina nel ruolo dello Studio di Pisa'. 277, 5, 8, 8
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica. 228, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 225, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 420, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Eredi di Maestro Michelangelo Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica sopraordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina straordinaria. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina straordinaria. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Giovan Battista Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 260, -, -, -
 Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna e i suoi eredi. Filosofia ordinario. 207, -, 11, 3
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Filosofia straordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 145, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Logica. 70, -, -, -

Messer Francesco di Michele Verini da Firenze. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 159, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Humanità. 437, 6, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. 'delle morali greche'. 208, 1, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Humanità?] 195, 3, 13, 4
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia ordinario. 226, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 36, 3, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Rondinelli da Firenze. Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 176, fols. 8r–13r

1573/74

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 264, 2, 10, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto canonico ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario. 65, 5, -, -
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Diritto canonico. 43, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta. Diritto canonico straordinario. 60, 2, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario. 56, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 12, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Romulei da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Martino di Piero Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Guidi da Volterra. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi di Santi Comparini. Istituzioni civili. 52, 2, 5, 8
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Istituzioni civili. 48, 3, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili. 46, 3, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Cantucci da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, 5, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. 518, 4, 13, 8³⁸

³⁸ Gatteschi is described as 'Medico del Serenissimo Gran Duca'. There is no reference to teaching.

Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina. 430, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina. 412, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina. 235, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertucci da Camporeggiano. Medicina straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Giovan Battista Verini da Firenze. [Filosofia ordinario?] 320, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Caponsacchi da Arezzo. Filosofia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia. 145, -, -, -
 Eredi di Messer Mainetto Mainetti da Bologna. [Filosofia ordinario?] 50, 3, 18, 8
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Michele Verini da Firenze. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Logica. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Logica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 140, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 151, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesso Baldessi da Cortona. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 425, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. 'delle morali greche'. 391, 6, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Humanità?] 294, 3, 6, 8
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 224, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 26, 2, 6, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 37, 5, 7, -³⁹

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 177, prima parte, fols. 12r–17v.

1574/75

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario la della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto canonico ordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 23, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 205, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario. 100, -, -, -

³⁹ Messer Piero Rucellai da Firenze is the consul. The censor is unnamed. This sum also includes the salaries of the Accademia's superintendant (provveditore) and chancellor.

- Messer Bartolomeo Romulei da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Nozzolini da Pisa. Diritto civile il giorno. 166, 4, 13, 4
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 47, 1, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili. 47, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 34, 1, 6, 8
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Istituzioni civili. 23, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Cantucci da Firenze. Istituzioni civili. 15, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili. 15, -, -, -
 Maestro Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. 'Medico del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana con titolo di lettore sopraordinario di Theorica di medicina nello Studio di Pisa'. 398, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina straordinario. 57, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Bernardi da Arezzo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Damiano Montigiani da San Gimignano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertucci da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 177, 3, 10, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Giovan Battista Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 195, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 102, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 115, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Logica. 63, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 30, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Logica. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco di Michele Verini da Firenze. Logica. 20, -, -, -
 Maestro Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 220, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze 'scolare nella Sapienza et lettore della lingua ebraica nell Studio'. 10, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 21, 1, -, -
 Messer Francesco da Astudillo di Spagna. [Allo Studio fiorentino?] [Teologia?] 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino?] [Humanità?] 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino?] ['delle morali greche?'] 149, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Segni da Firenze. All'Accademia fiorentina. Petrarca. 11, 6, 16, 4
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 33, 2, -, 4.⁴⁰

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 177, seconda parte, fols. 17r–23v.

⁴⁰ This sum includes payments to the consul (Messer Antonio degli Albizzi da Firenze), the censor (unnamed), and the chancellor.

1575/76⁴¹

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia.
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia.
 Messer Quintiliano Mandosi da Roma. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina.
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina.
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina.
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina.
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera.
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera.
 Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario.
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario.
 Messer Piero Regulo da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario.
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina.
 Messer Bartolomeo Romulei da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina.
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina.
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario.
 Messer Antonio Ciofi da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.
 Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario.
 Messer Piero Niccolai da Pescia. Diritto civile straordinario.
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario.
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale.
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi.
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina.
 Messer Iacopo Cantucci da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina.
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina.
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina.
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera.
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera.
 Cavaliere Messer Francesco Gozzari da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della sera.
 Messer Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina teorica sopraordinario.
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario.
 Messer Domenico Bertucci da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica ordinario.
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario.
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario.
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario.
 Messer Girolamo del Vizzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario.
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario.
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario.
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario.
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario.
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario.
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario.
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica.
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica.
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Logica.

⁴¹ Although the roll for this year has survived, the record of payments has not. The roll mentions neither the Studio fiorentino nor the Accademia fiorentina.

Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica.

Maestro Giovanni da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica.

Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici.

Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica.

Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia.

Messer Ventura Venturini da Sarzana. Chirurgia.

Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino.

Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica.

Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 180v–182v.

1576/77⁴²

Maestro Domenico Silvani da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -

Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -

Messer Quintiliano Mandosi da Roma. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -

Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -

Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -

Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 60, 5, -, -

Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -

Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -

Messer Camillo Venerosi da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -

Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -

Messer Bartolomeo Romulei da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -

Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 325, -, -, -

Messer Lionardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 85, -, -, -

Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -

Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -

Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario. 60, -, -, -

Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Piero Santo Regulo [sic] da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 85, -, -, -

Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Diritto civile straordinario. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -

Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -

Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -

Messer Iacopo Cantuccini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, 5, -, -

Messer Francesco Gozzari da Arezzo, cavaliere. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -

Messer Bartolomeo Gatteschi da Strada in Casentino. Medicina teorica sopraordinario. 500, -, -, -

Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 175, -, -, -

Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 325, -, -, -

Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 275, -, -, -

Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -

Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -

⁴² The surviving record for this year refers only to the Studio pisano.

Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 65 -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Logica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Logica. 40, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 140, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovanni da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Platone giorni festivi.⁴³
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia.⁴⁴
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e Latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 124, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 183r–185r.

1577/78⁴⁵

Maestro Domenico Silvani d Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Quintiliano Mandosi da Roma. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario.⁴⁶
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 325, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Menocco. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 800, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 225, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Diritto civile straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -

⁴³ No payment recorded.

⁴⁴ No payment recorded.

⁴⁵ The surviving record for this year refers only to the Studio pisano.

⁴⁶ No payment recorded.

Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pirro Mauri da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Gozzari da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Marmorano da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera.⁴⁷
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina teorica sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario.⁴⁸
 Messer Domenico Bertucci da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica ordinario.⁴⁹
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 325, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 275, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Logica. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica e *Etica* di Aristotele. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Gambarelli da Firenze. Logica. 40, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 140, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovanni da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Mancini da Montepulciano.⁵⁰
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebrea. 40, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 185v–187v.

1578/79

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Silvani da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 120, -, -, -

⁴⁷ No payment recorded.

⁴⁸ No payment recorded.

⁴⁹ No payment recorded.

⁵⁰ No payment is recorded.

Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 325, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 225, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.⁵¹
 Messer Vincenzo Guidi da Lucca. Diritto canonico straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pirro Mauri da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Marmarano da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina teorica sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Bertucci da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 325, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 275, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Forlito da Palermo, O.Carm. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Platone giorni festivi.⁵²
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Mancini da Montepulciano.⁵³
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 40, -, -, -

⁵¹ No payment recorded.

⁵² No payment recorded.

⁵³ No payment recorded.

Fra Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Morale e lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 188r–190r.

1579/80⁵⁴

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Silvani da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Seta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina.⁵⁵
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padova. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 325, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 325, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbioni da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 225, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.⁵⁶
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelleria da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Martino Spigliati da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi.⁵⁷
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pirro Mauri da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Marmarano da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milan. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica ordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 325, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 275, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 350, -, -, -

⁵⁴ The surviving record for this year refers only to the Studio pisano.

⁵⁵ No payment recorded.

⁵⁶ No payment recorded.

⁵⁷ No payment recorded.

Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Forlito da Palermo, O.Carm. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Platone giorni festivi.⁵⁸
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 40, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 190v–192v.

1580/81

Messer Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia.⁵⁹
 Maestro Domenico Silvani da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero del Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle Valdelsa Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padova. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.⁶⁰
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Benedetto Pescioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, 5, -, -
 Messer Paolo Perini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina.⁶¹
 Messer Pirro Mauri da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Marmarano da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Muti da Poggibonsi. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -

⁵⁸ No payment recorded.

⁵⁹ No payment recorded.

⁶⁰ No payment recorded.

⁶¹ No payment recorded.

Messer Domenico Bertacchi da Camporeggiano. Medicina teorica ordinario. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica straordinario.⁶²
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verini da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Forlito da Palermo O.Carm. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Mainetti. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Nozzolini da Pisa. Mathematica. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Latino e greco. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 40, -, -, -
 Quattro studenti per lezioni straordinario giorni festivi. 57, 1, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Teologia?]. 'col solito' 60, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Morale et lingua greca. 'col solito' 300, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Console dell'Accademia fiorentina. 24, -, -, -
 Censore dell'Accademia fiorentina. 4, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 193r–195r.

1581/82

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia.⁶³
 Maestro Domenico Silvani da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera.⁶⁴
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle Valdelsa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padova. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -

⁶² The payment is illegible.

⁶³ No payment recorded.

⁶⁴ The payment is illegible.

Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, 5, -, -
 Messer Roberto Vanni da Pisa. Criminale. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi.⁶⁵
 Messer Silvio Perignani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pirro Mauri da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Uguccioni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Neretti da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Gioni da Empoli. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario.⁶⁶
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica ordinario. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario.⁶⁷
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 55, -, 5, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario.⁶⁸
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Montecatini. Filosofia straordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Filosofia straordinario.⁶⁹
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Mainetti da Bologna. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Fra Giovan Battista Forlito da Palermo O.Carm. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Cristofori da Montemarciano. Semplici giorni festivi.⁷⁰
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica.⁷¹
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 65, -, -, -

⁶⁵ No payment is recorded.

⁶⁶ The payment is illegible.

⁶⁷ No payment is recorded.

⁶⁸ The payment is illegible.

⁶⁹ No payment is recorded.

⁷⁰ No payment is recorded.

⁷¹ No payment is recorded.

Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino.⁷²
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 40, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Moralia et lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 195v–197v.

1582/83

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappono Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padua. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 380, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Fabbroni da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, 5, -, -
 Messer Livio Staticini da Colle. Criminale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Neretti da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buonaventura da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Giomi da Empoli. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Fabbroni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica ordinario. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Guido Guidi da Firenze. Medicina teorica straordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 230, -, -, -

⁷² No payment is recorded.

Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Filosofia straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Mainetti da Bologna. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Sestino da Bibbiena. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metaphysics. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Cristofori da Montemarciano. Semplici giorni festivi senza salario.
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Moralia et lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -⁷³

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 178, prima parte, fols. 3r-5v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 198r-200r

1583/84

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padua. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 380, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, 5, -, -
 Messer Evandro Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Staticini da Colle. Criminale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -

⁷³ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Lorenzo Giacomini), the censor (Messer Marcello Adriani), the superintendant (Messer Vincenzo Pitti), and the chancellor (Ser Iacopo Vantucci).

Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buonaventura da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Giomi da Empoli. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Fabbroni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica ordinario. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Tosi da Milano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Filosofia straordinario. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Sestino da Bibbiena. Logica. 65, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Giuliani O.S.M. Logica.⁷⁴
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Cristofori da Montemarciano. Semplici giorni festivi.⁷⁵
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino.⁷⁶
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Moralia et lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ⁷⁷

Source: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 178, seconda parte, fols. 2r–2v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 200v–202v.

⁷⁴ No payment is recorded.

⁷⁵ No payment is recorded.

⁷⁶ No payment is recorded.

⁷⁷ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Bernardino Neretti), the censor (Messer Bernardo Vecchietti), the superintendent (Messer Orazio Zanechini) and the chancellor (Ser Iacopo Vantucci).

1584/85

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Antonio Baldosi da Sardegna O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padua. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Cervelliera da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Evandro Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Staticini da Colle. Criminale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ricciardi da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buonaventura da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Giomi da Empoli. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Fabbroni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica ordinario. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Tosi da Milano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Sestino da Bibbiena. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Giuliani O.S.M. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Cristofori da Montemarciano. Semplici giorni festivi.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ No payment is recorded.

Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino.⁷⁹
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Moralia et lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 39, 6, 10, 8.⁸⁰

Source: ASP, UDP, primo deposito, 178, terza parte, fols. 5r–7r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 203r–204v.

1585/86

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Mariano da Gubbio O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Calefati da Piombino. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padua. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Soacci da Padua. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera.⁸¹
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Evandro Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Staticini da Colle. Criminale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buonaventura da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Compagni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vettori da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Fabbroni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 250, -, -, -

⁷⁹ No payment is recorded.

⁸⁰ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Giovan Battista Deti), the censor (Messer Leonardo Salviati), the superintendent (Messer Luigi Ardinghelli), and the chancellors (Ser Iacopo Vantucci and his heirs, and Ser Lorenzo Perini).

⁸¹ No payment is recorded.

Messer Girolamo del Vezzo da Pistoia. Medicina teorica ordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Tosi da Milano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Sestini da Bibbiena. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Silvani O.S.M. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Melis da Sardegna O.F.M. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 75, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Venturini da Sarzana. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino,⁸²
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Moralia et lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -.⁸³

Source: UdP, primo deposito, 179, seconda parte, fols. 4r–5r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 205r–206v

1586/87

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 125, -, -, -
 Maestro Mariano da Gubbio O.F.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -

⁸² No payment is recorded.

⁸³ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Ottaviano de' Medici), the censor (Messer Roberto Bonsi), the superintendent (Messer Bastiano de' Rossi), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera.⁸⁴
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padua. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Soacci da Padua. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Uguccioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina.⁸⁵
 Messer Livio Staticini da Colle. Criminale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Compagni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Vettori da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Fabbroni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Medicina pratica ordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Sestini da Bibbiena. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Tosi da Milano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario.⁸⁶
 Messer Girolamo Borro da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Silvani O.S.M. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Melis da Sardegna O.F.M. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Matematica. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia e chirurgia. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Aldo Manuzio da Venezia. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -

⁸⁴ No payment is recorded.

⁸⁵ No payment is recorded.

⁸⁶ No payment is recorded.

Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Moralia et lingua greca. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ⁸⁷

Sources: ASP, UdP, UdP, primo deposito, 179, terza parte, fols. 5r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 207r–208v

1587/88

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 125, -, -, -
 Maestro Mariano da Gubbio O.F.M. Teologia. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Maranta O.P. 'Teologia positiva' giovedì e giorni festivi. ⁸⁸
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cappone Capponi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padua. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Soacci da Padua. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Uguccioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Staticini da Colle. Criminale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Guarnieri da Pisa. Feudi. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Compagni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Fabbri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Camuzzi da Milano. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 200, -, -, -. ⁸⁹
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Medicina pratica ordinario. 165, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Sestini da Bibbiena. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Tosi da Milano. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Maranta O.P. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -

⁸⁷ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Baccio Valori), the censor (Messer Giovanni Rondinelli), the superintendant (Messer Giulio Mannelli), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

⁸⁸ No payment is recorded.

⁸⁹ He also received 'un donatino' of 100, -, -, - from the grand duke.

Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Clemente Quarantotti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Tiberio Bellaviti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Silvani O.S.M. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Domenico Melis da Sardegna O.F.M. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Piffèri da Monte S. Savino. Mathematica.⁹⁰
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia e chirurgia. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Aldo Manuzio da Venezia. Greco e latino. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ⁹¹

Sources: ASP, UdP, UdP, primo deposito, 179, prima parte, fols. 5r–7r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 209r–210v.

1588/89

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 125, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Donato Malegonnelli da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padua. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 680, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 240, -, -, -
 Messer Sforza Oddi da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Soacci da Padova. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo Soaci. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Uguccioni da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -

⁹⁰ No payment is recorded.

⁹¹ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Piero Angeli), the censor (Messer Francesco Bonciani), the superintendant (Messer Cosimo Ridolfi), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Leonardo Colambino da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Compagni da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Balduini da Barga. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Sestini da Bibbiena. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Tiberio Bellaviti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rossetti da Firenze. Metafisica.⁹²
 Maestro Filippo Fantoni da Firenze O.S.A. Mathematica. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia e chirurgia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Allo Studio fiorentino. Greco. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -⁹³

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 180, terza parte, fols. 5r–7r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 211r–212v.

1589/90

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Prospero Rossetti da Firenze O.S.M. Sacra Scriptura giovedì e giorni festivi.⁹⁴

⁹² No payment is recorded.

⁹³ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Giovanni Mazzei), the censor (Messer Francesco Marrinozzi), the superintendent (Messer Baccio Gherardini), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

⁹⁴ No payment is recorded.

Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Uguccioni da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padova. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 650, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 480, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 240, -, -, -
 Messer Sforza Oddi da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 680, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo Soaci da Padova. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Paolo Perini da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Balduini da Barga. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Guazzesi da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Colambino da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 330, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Tiberio Bellaviti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Tolomeo Nozzolini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista da Budrio O.S.M. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Venturini da Pisa O.S.A. Metafisica. 160, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rossetti da Firenze. Metafisica.⁹⁵
 Messer Andrea Bellaviti da Pisa. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Galileo Galilei da Firenze. Mathematica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia e chirurgia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebrea. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -

⁹⁵ No payment is recorded.

Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ⁹⁶

Sources ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 180, seconda parte, fols. 5r–7r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 213r–214v.

1590/91

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Uguccioni da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Guerrino Soaci da Padova. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 680, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 480, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 240, -, -, -
 Messer Sforza Oddi da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 340, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 430, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo Soaci da Padova. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Colambino da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Balduini da Barga. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Guazzesi da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Compagni da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Lavelli da Castronovo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Verino da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 450, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 330, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Tiberio Bellaviti da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Tolomeo Nozzolini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -

⁹⁶ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Paolo Bonciani), the censor (Messer Giovan Battista Vecchietti), the superintendant (Messer Lorenzo Niccolini), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo. Logica. 65, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rossetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Galileo Galilei da Firenze. Mathematica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia e chirurgia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Allo Studio fiorentino. La Greca et Morali. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ⁹⁷

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 180, prima parte, fols. 5r–8r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 215r–216v.

1591/92

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Uguccioni da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Onesti da Pescia. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 480, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 240, -, -, -
 Messer Sforza Oddi da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 430, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Vias da Marsiglia. Pandette. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo Soaci da Padova. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Colambino da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Balduini da Barga. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Guazzesi da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Compagni da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Bonaventuri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 400, -, -, -

⁹⁷ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Luigi Alamanni), the censor (Messer Lorenzo Franceschi), the superintendent (Anton Maria Bartolomei), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Lavelli da Castronovo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 330, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Platone giovedì e giorni festivi.⁹⁸
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 225, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo. Logica. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Tolomeo Nozzolini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rossetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Galileo Galilei da Firenze. Mathematica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia e chirurgia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Mancini da Cortona. Greco e latino. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Benedetti da Firenze. Lingua ebraica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Allo Studio fiorentino. La Greca et Morali. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -.⁹⁹

Sources: ASP, Udp, primo deposito, 181, terza parte, fols. 5r-8r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 217r-218v.

1592/93

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Ro da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 550, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 430, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Massini da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera.¹⁰⁰
 Messer Iacopo Vias da Marsiglia. Pandette. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -

⁹⁸ No payment is recorded.

⁹⁹ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Alessandro Rinuccini), the censor (Messer Pierfrancesco Cambi), the superintendent (Messer Giuliano de' Medici), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

¹⁰⁰ The payment is illegible.

Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Balduini da Barga. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Guazzesi da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Compagni da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Bonaventuri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio degli Asini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Cesalpino da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Lavelli da Castronovo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 330, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Platone giovedì e giorni festivi.¹⁰¹
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 225, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo. Logica. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Tolomeo Nozzolini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rossetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia e chirurgia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 53, 5, 14, 6.¹⁰²
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. Greco e latino. 150, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 36, -, -, -.¹⁰³

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 181, seconda parte, fols. 5r–8r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 219r–220v.

¹⁰¹ No payment is recorded.

¹⁰² He gave only 74 of his 110 lectures.

¹⁰³ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Vincenzo di Carlo Pitti), the censor (Messer Francesco Nori), the superintendent (Messer Matteo di Giovanni Caccini), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

1593/94

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 185, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Ro da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 580, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 430, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Massini da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Guazzesi da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Compagni da Pistoia. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Polidoro Riva da Milano. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Bonaventuri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio degli Asini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina teorica ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 310, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Lavelli da Castronovo. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 380, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Platone giovedì e giorni festivi.¹⁰⁴
 Messer Giovanni Talentoni da Fivizzano. Logica. 225, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo. Logica. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Tolomeo Nozzolini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rossetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -

¹⁰⁴ No payment is recorded.

Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. Literas humanas. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -.¹⁰⁵

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 181, prima parte, fols. 5r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 221r–222v.

1594/95

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 550, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 430, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Massini da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Guazzesi da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Polidoro Riva da Milano. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio degli Asini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli, cavaliere. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Bonaventuri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina teorica ordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 310, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 380, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 185, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Platone giovedì e giorni festivi.¹⁰⁶
 Messer Leonardo Maurizi da Arezzo. Logica. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Tolomeo Nozzolini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Malatesta da Pistoia. Logica. 45, -, -, -

¹⁰⁵ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Piero Segni), the censor (Messer Francesco Marinozzi), the superintendent (Messer Neri Alberti), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

¹⁰⁶ No payment is recorded.

Maestro Prospero Rossetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. Literas humanas. 300, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ¹⁰⁷

Sources: ASP, UDP, primo deposito, 182, terza parte, fols. 5r–6r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 223r–224v.

1595/96

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Ro da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 550, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 470, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Massini da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Guazzesi da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Polidoro Riva da Milano. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio degli Asini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli, cavaliere. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Borghesi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina teorica ordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 225, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 310, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 380, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 700, -, -, -

¹⁰⁷ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Giovan Antonio Popoleschi), the censor (Messer Bernardino Capponi), the superintendent (Messer Iacopo Giraldi), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 185, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Platone giovedì e giorni festivi.¹⁰⁸
 Messer Tolomeo Nozzolini da Pisa. Logica. 65, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Malatesta da Pistoia. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Cornacchini da Arezzo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rosetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Angeli da Barga. Allo Studio fiorentino. Literas humanas. 300, -, -, -¹⁰⁹
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ¹¹⁰

Sources: ASP, UDP, primo deposito, 182, seconda parte, fols. 5r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 225r–226v.

1596/97

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 280, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 185, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Ro da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 800, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 440, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 470, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Magnani da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli, cavaliere. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ximenes da Lusitania di Portogallo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Borghesi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Miniato Baldesi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina teorica ordinario. 120, -, -, -

¹⁰⁸ No payment is recorded.

¹⁰⁹ Angeli died on 1 Mar. 1596.

¹¹⁰ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Filippo del Migliore), the censor (Messer Giuliano Bagnesi), the superintendent (Messer Piero Dini), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 255, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 310, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Capannoli da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 195, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 380, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Platone giorni festivi.¹¹¹
 Messer Marco Antonio Malatesta da Pistoia. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Cornacchini da Arezzo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Lorenzini da Montepulciano. Logica.¹¹²
 Maestro Prospero Rosetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Baldesio Baldesi da Cortona. Semplici. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Ponsevi da Firenze. Literas humanas et Grecas. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino]. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino. 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ¹¹³

Sources: ASP, Udp, primo deposito, 182, prima parte, fols. 5r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 227r–228v.

1597/98

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Ro da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 800, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 440, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Papponi da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Antonio Marta da Napoli. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchini da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 105, -, -, -

¹¹¹ No payment is recorded.

¹¹² No payment is recorded.

¹¹³ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Iacopo Dani), the censor (Messer Francesco Sanlecchini), the superintendent (Messer Filippo del Migliore), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli, cavaliere. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Borghesi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Miniato Baldesi da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldo da San Miniato. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Ximenes da Lusitania di Portogallo. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 255, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Medicina teorica ordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 340, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 420, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Filosofia ordinario. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Mazzoni da Cesena. Platone giorni festivi.¹¹⁴
 Messer Orazio Cornacchini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Lorenzini da Montepulciano. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Prospero Rosetti da Firenze. Metafisica. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Rovezzani da Pisa. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Sanleolini da Firenze. Mathematica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Sanleolini da Firenze. Literas humanas et Grecas. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ¹¹⁵

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 183, terza parte, fols. 5r-8r; seconda parte, fol. 4v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 229r-230v.

1598/99

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Ro da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 800, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 105, -, -, -

¹¹⁴ No payment is recorded.

¹¹⁵ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Francesco Nori), the censor (Messer Michelangelo Buonarroti), the superintendant (Messer Iacopo Soldani), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 440, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchini da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Antonio Marta da Napoli. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli, cavaliere. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldo da San Miniato. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Ro da Milano. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Geri da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 285, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 340, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 420, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Platone giorni festivi.¹¹⁶
 Messer Orazio Cornacchini da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio Baglioni da Firenze O.S.M. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Rovezzani da Pisa. Semplici. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Sanleolini da Firenze. Literas humanas et Grecas. 150, -, -, -¹¹⁷
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Zanobi Comparini da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina. 40, -, -, -. ¹¹⁸

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 183, seconda parte, fols. 4r–6v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 231r–232v.

1599/1600

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -

¹¹⁶ No payment is recorded.

¹¹⁷ He was also obliged to lecture on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco.

¹¹⁸ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Michelangelo Buonarroti), the censor (Messer Alessandro Sertini), the superintendant (Marchese Bernardo Malaspina), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 155, -, -,
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Ro da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 800, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 440, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchinei da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Antonio Marta da Napoli. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Mazzuoli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Lancilotti da Perugia. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Compagni da Pistoia. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldo da San Miniato. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Ro da Milano. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Geri da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Curzio Pacinelli da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 285, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 340, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 420, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario e Platone giorni festivi. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio Baglioni da Firenze O.S.M. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Rovezzani da Pisa. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Sanleolini da Firenze. Latino, greco, e mathematica. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 54, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoinsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Niccolini. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1601. 40, -, -, -. ¹¹⁹

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 183, prima parte, fols. 4r–7r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 232v–234r.

¹¹⁹ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Alberto della Fioraia), the censor (Messer Luigi Alamanni), the superintendent (Messer Alessandro di Tommaso Strozzi), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

1600/1601

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchinei da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 440, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Antonio Marta da Napoli. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Tommasini da Ripatransone. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Lanciloti da Perugia. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldo da San Miniato. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Compagni da Pistoia. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Curzio Pacinelli da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Falconetti da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fabrizio Mattei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ugolino Vieri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 285, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 340, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova. Medicina pratica ordinario. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 460, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario e Platone giorni festivi. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio Baglioni da Firenze O.S.M. Metafisica. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Rovezzani da Pisa. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 54, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Niccolini. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1602. 40, -, -, -. ¹²⁰

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 184, fols. 5r–7r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 234v–236r.

¹²⁰ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Baccio Gherardini), the censor (Messer Giovan Battista Deti), the superintendant (Messer Giovan Battista Pitti), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

1601/02

- Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bertini da Colle. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchini da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Antonio Marta da Napoli. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Tommasini da Ripatransone. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Marliani da Genova. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Lancilotti da Perugia. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldi da San Miniato. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Falconetti da Firenze, cavaliere. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ugolino Vieri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fabrizio Mattei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Manadori da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 335, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina pratica ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 460, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario e Platone giorni festivi. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio Baglioni da Firenze O.S.M. Metafisica.¹²¹
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Rovezzani da Pisa. Semplici. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 54, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino?] ? 50, -, -, -

¹²¹ No payment is recorded.

Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1603. 40, -, -, -.¹²²

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 185, fols. 5r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 236r–238r.

1602/03

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Lelio de' Medici da Piacenza O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchini da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Antonio Marta da Napoli. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Tommasini da Ripatransone. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Atilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Lancilotti da Perugia. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina.¹²³
 Messer Antonio Ansaldo da San Miniato. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Falconetti da Firenze, cavaliere. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ugolino Vieri da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fabrizio Mattei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Inghirami da Volterra. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 385, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina pratica ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Ferdinando Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Bonamici da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 460, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario e Platone giorni festivi. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario.¹²⁴
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo da Civitella O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -

¹²² Includes payments to the consul (Messer Alessandro Sertini), the censor (Messer Iacopo Popoleschi), the superintendent (Messer Andrea Cambini), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

¹²³ No payment is recorded.

¹²⁴ No payment is recorded.

Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Cornacchini da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Baldassare Ansidei da Perugia. Literas humanas et Grecas. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 78, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. [Allo Studio fiorentino?] ? 50, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 80, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. [Subject not specified] 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1604. 40, -, -, -. ¹²⁵

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 186, fols. 5r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 238r–240r.

1603/04

Maestro Iacopo della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Sanazari da Pavia. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 155, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 190, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchini da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Polidoro Riva da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Tommasini da Ripatransone. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Attilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldi da San Miniato. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Francesco Ricci da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Rustici da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fabrizio Mattei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Inghirami da Volterra. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Perini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 335, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 130, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina pratica ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Ferdinando Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario e Platone giorni festivi. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Logica. 60, -, -, -

¹²⁵ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Piero Venturi), the censor (Messer Niccolò Vannozzi), the superintendent (Messer Francesco Quaratesi), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 90, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo da Civitella O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Cornacchini da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Baldassare Ansidei da Perugia. Literas humanas et Grecas. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 78, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. ? 50, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Adriani da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Latino e greco. 200, -, -, -
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1605. 40, -, -, -. ¹²⁶

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 187, fols. 4r-9v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 240r-241v.

1604/05

Maestro Iacopo Tavanti della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Moricci da Montegranario O.F.M. Teologia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Sanazari da Pavia. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchinei da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Polidoro Riva da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Tommasini da Ripatransone. Diritto civile ordinario della sera e criminale giorni festivi. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Attilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldi da San Miniato. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Pier Francesco Ricci da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Rustici da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Facchinei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Fabrizio Mattei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. ¹²⁷
 Messer Bernardo Inghirami da Volterra. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Perini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 335, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 170, -, -, -

¹²⁶ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Guido Ricci), the censor (Messer Bastiano de' Rossi), the superintendent (Cardinale Michelozzi), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

¹²⁷ No payment is recorded.

Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina pratica ordinario. 180, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 75, -, -, -
 Messer Ferdinando Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia straordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Logica. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Seghieri da Montecarlo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Gregorio Fanti da Montepulciano. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 90, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo da Civitella O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Cornacchini da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Baldassare Ansidei da Perugia. Literas humanas et Grecas. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 78, -, -, -
 Per lo Studio fiorentino. 330, -, -, -¹²⁸
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1606. 40, -, -, -¹²⁹

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 188, fols. 2v–8v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 242r–243v.

1605/06

Maestro Iacopo Tavanti della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Moricci da Montegranario O.F.M. Teologia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Sanazari da Pavia. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchini da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Polidoro Riva da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Tommasini da Ripatransone. Diritto civile ordinario della sera e criminale giorni festivi. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 85, -, -, -
 Messer Attilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldo da San Miniato. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Fabrizio Mattei da Forlì. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -

¹²⁸ Includes payment of 80, -, -, - to Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. for teaching theology.

¹²⁹ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Piero Dini), the censor (Messer Iacopo Soldani), the superintendent (Messer Vieri Cerchi), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Pier Francesco Ricci da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Rustici da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Inghirami da Volterra. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Perini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Facchinei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 375, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina pratica ordinario. 220, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Lupi da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Ferdinando Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Tomasi da Cortona. Filosofia ordinario. 160, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Seghieri da Montecarlo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Gregorio Fanti da Montepulciano. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 90, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo da Civitella O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Cornacchini da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Baldassare Ansidei da Perugia. Literas humanas. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 78, -, -, -
 Per lo Studio fiorentino. 330, -, -, -¹³⁰
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1607. 40, -, -, -¹³¹

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 189, fols. 4r–9r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 244r–245r.

1606/07

Maestro Iacopo Tavanti della Pieve da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Moricci da Montegranario O.F.M. Teologia. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Sanazari da Pavia. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 140, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchinei da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -

¹³⁰ Includes payments of 50, -, -, - to Messer Gratia Carrucci da Firenze for teaching the *Institutes* and 80, -, -, - to Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. for teaching theology.

¹³¹ Includes payments to the consul (Messer Iacopo Soldani), the censor (Messer Cosimo Minerbeti), the superintendent (Messer Filippo Girolami), and the chancellor (Ser Lorenzo Perini).

Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Polidoro Riva da Milano. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Tommasini da Ripatransone. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Attilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Ansaldo da San Miniato. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Fabrizio Mattei da Forlì. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Tommaso Rustici da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Inghirami da Volterra. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Perini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Facchini da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Pasci da Colle Valdelsa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Roncioni da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Mercuriale da Forlì. Medicina sopraordinario. 1000, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Cavriani da Mantova, cavaliere. Medicina pratica ordinario. 220, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Ferdinando Angeli da Barga. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Iacopo Blancardo de Laurentis da Genova. Medicina teorica straordinario.¹³²
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 460, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Seghieri da Montecarlo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Gregorio Fanti da Montepulciano. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 90, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo da Civitella O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Cornacchini da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Tizzi da Borgo San Sepolcro. Literas humanas. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giorgio Moschetti da Creta. Literas Grecas. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 100, -, -, -
 Per lo Studio fiorentino. 330, -, -, -¹³³
 Per l'Accademia fiorentina per l'anno fino al 24 marzo 1608. 40, -, -, -¹³⁴

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 190, fols. 4r–9r; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 245v–247r.

¹³² No payment is recorded.

¹³³ Includes payments of 50, -, -, - to Messer Gratia Carrucci da Firenze for teaching the *Institutes* and 80, -, -, - to Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. for teaching theology.

¹³⁴ Includes payments to the consul, the censor, and the superintendant. None are named.

1607/08¹³⁵

Maestro Lelio Baglioni da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Michelangelo da Cortona O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Sanazari da Pavia. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pescia. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Facchinei da Forlì. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Costei da Lodi. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 340, -, -, -
 Messer Santi Ballerini da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Atilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Tantucci da Siena. Criminale e feudi giorni festivi. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Inghirami da Volterra. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Facchinei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Facchinei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cristoforo Marzi Medici da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Antonio Tesauri da Torino. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Pasci da Colle Valdelsa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Roncioni da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Onorto Scorza da Genova. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Girolami da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 335, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Gustavino da Genova. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Tizio da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Iacopo Blancardo de Laurentis da Genova. Medicina teorica straordinario.
 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 460, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 135, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Filosofia straordinario. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Filosofia straordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Curzio Cintoletta da Pisa, canonico. Filosofia morale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Aquilani da Pisa. Logica. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Seghieri da Montecarlo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ascanio Clerici da Arezzo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 90, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo da Civitella O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -

¹³⁵ There are no recorded payments to the Accademia fiorentina.

Messer Orazio Cornacchini da Arezzo. Semplici. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Roberto Tizzi da Borgo San Sepolcro. Literas humanas. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Giorgio Moschetti da Creta. Literas grecas.¹³⁶
 Messer Gabriele Gratia da Montalbano. Lingua arabica.¹³⁷
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 103, -, -, -
 Per lo Studio fiorentino. 330, -, -, -¹³⁸

Sources: ASP, UDP, primo deposito, 191, fols. 3r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 247r–249r.

1608/09¹³⁹

Maestro Lelio Baglioni da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Luciani da Piombino O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Nicolai da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Attilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera 'con riposo'.
 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiatielli da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 210, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 500, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Costei da Lodi. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 340, -, -, -
 Messer Santi Ballerini da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Falconetti da Firenze, cavaliere. Diritto canonico straordinario della
 sera. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Ruschi da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Tantucci da Siena. Criminale e feudi giorni festivi. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Pasci da Colle Valdelsa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Facchini da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cristoforo Marzi Medici da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Carlo Antonio Tesauri da Torino, abate. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Roncioni da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Onorto Scorza da Genova. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Girolami da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giuliano Viviani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 370, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 220, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario 'con riposo'.
 185, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Gustavino da Genova. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -

¹³⁶ The payment is illegible.

¹³⁷ No payment is recorded.

¹³⁸ Includes payments of 50, -, -, - to Messer Gratia Carrucci da Firenze for teaching the *Institutes* and 80, -, -, - to Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. for teaching theology.

¹³⁹ There are no recorded payments to the Accademia fiorentina.

- Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Tizio da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Iacopo Blancardo de Laurentis da Genova. Medicina teorica straordinario. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 460, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 135, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario. 145, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Filosofia straordinario. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Liceti da Genova. Filosofia straordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Curzio Cintoletta da Pisa, canonico. Filosofia morale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Seghieri da Montecarlo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Ascanio Clerici da Arezzo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Vanni da Pisa. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 125, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo da Civitella O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Monosini da Firenze. Literas humanas. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giorgio Moschetti da Creta. Literas Greca. 250, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 103, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Humanita. 200, -, -, -
 Maestro Tommaso Buoninsegni da Firenze O.P. Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 68, 2, 10, 8
 Messer Gratia Carrucci. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -

Sources: ASP, UdP, primo deposito, 192, fols. 3r–7v; secondo deposito, G77, fols. 249v–251r.

1609/10¹⁴⁰

- Maestro Lelio Baglioni da Firenze O.S.M. Teologia. 150, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Luciani da Piombino O.F.M. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Atilio Corsi da Firenze. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 110, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Dias Pinto da Lusitania di Portogallo. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Simon Piero Pitta da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera 'con riposo'. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giuseppe Bocca da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Sanminiati da Pisa. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Accolti da Arezzo. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera. 90, -, -, -
 Messer Cipriano Pagni da Pisa. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 300, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Bonaventuri da Firenze. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Curini da Pontremoli, cavaliere. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 600, -, -, -
 Messer Santi Ballerini da Perugia. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 400, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Falconetti da Firenze, cavaliere. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Ruschi da Pisa. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Roncioni da Pisa. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Cristoforo Marzi Medici da Firenze. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Tantucci da Siena. Feudi. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Pasci da Colle Valdelsa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 100, -, -, -

¹⁴⁰ There are no recorded payments to the Accademia fiorentina.

Messer Piero Girolami da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giuliano Viviani da Pisa. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Angeli da Barga. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Cristoforo Spini da Firenze. Istituzioni civili della mattina. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Facchinei da Forlì. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Onorto Scorza da Genova. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Buonaparte da San Miniato. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Cossu da Sardegna. Istituzioni civili della sera. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Rodrigo Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina teorica ordinario. 310, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Cartegni da Bagnone. Medicina teorica ordinario. 220, -, -, -
 Messer Damiano Dias da Lusitania di Portogallo. Medicina pratica ordinario 'con riposo'.
 135, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Gustavino da Genova. Medicina pratica ordinario. 350, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Anselmi da Pisa. Medicina pratica ordinario. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Cornacchini da Arezzo. Medicina pratica ordinario. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Tizio da Pisa. Medicina teorica straordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Iacopo Blancardo de Laurentis da Genova. Medicina teorica straordinario.
 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio de' Libri da Firenze. Filosofia ordinario. 460, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bellavita da Pisa. Filosofia ordinario. 135, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Boscagli da Firenze. Filosofia straordinario and Platone giorni festivi. 170, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Astolfi da Monte San Savino. Filosofia straordinario. 115, -, -, -
 Messer Curzio Cintoletta da Pisa, canonico. Filosofia morale. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Seghieri da Montecarlo. Logica. 120, -, -, -
 Messer Gabriele Fonseca da Lusitania di Portogallo. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Vincenzo Gratia da Firenze. Logica. 45, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Costacci da Visso O.S.A. Metafisica. 125, -, -, -
 Messer Alberto Campani O.P. Metafisica e sacra scrittura giorni festivi. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Ruschi da Pisa. Anatomia. 230, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Ruschi da Pisa. Chirurgia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Vigna da Firenze. Semplici. 45, -, -, -
 Messer Angelo Monosini da Firenze. Literas humanas. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Giorgio Coresio da Scio. Literas Grecas. 150, -, -, -
 Messer Antonio Santucci da Pomarance. Mathematica. 103, -, -, -
 Maestro Michele Arrighi.¹⁴¹ Allo Studio fiorentino. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Gratia Carrucci da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Istituzioni civili. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Piero Vettori da Firenze. Allo Studio fiorentino. Literas grecas et latinas. 200, -, -, -

Source: ASP, UdP, secondo deposito, G77, fols. 251v–253r.

¹⁴¹ Buoninsegni died in 1609.

APPENDIX VI

PAYMENTS TO PROFESSORS AT THE STUDIO SENESE, 1557–1589

INTRODUCTION

The following lists are based on the records of the rolls and the payments made to the professors. The lists include the payments to the communal masters of grammar, writing, arithmetic, and abacus who taught in Siena but not at the Studio.

Unless specified, payments are in fiorini, lire, soldi, and denari.

1556/57

Maestro Francesco O.S.M. Sacra scrittura in duomo giorni festivi. 50, -, -, -, -
Messer Ventura Cieco. Humanità. 100, -, -, -
Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 90, -, -, -
Messer Mariano Pignatta. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -
Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -

Source: ASS Balia 1037, fols. 70v, 109v–110r.

1557/58

Maestro Francesco O.S.M. Lettere di San Paolo in duomo giorni festivi. 50, -, -, -
Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
Messer Lelio Pecci da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 80, -, -, -
Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario. 50, -, -, -
Messer Giovanni Biringucci da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 80, -, -, -
Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario. 80, -, -, -
Messer Taddeo da Montecchio. Logica ordinario e mathematica giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
Messer Ventura Cieco. Humanità. 80, -, -, -
Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
Messer Bernardo Catanei per insegnare scrivere e albaco. 50, -, -, -
Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 169, parte prima, fols. 87r, 108v, 111r–111v, 151r–151v; Balia 1037, fol. 228r; Balia 1038, fols. 12r, 42v.

1558/59

Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
Messer Lelio Pecci da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 80, -, -, -
Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario. 50, -, -, -

Messer Giovanni Biringucci da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Martino Provinciale in Toscana dell'Ordine dei Carmeliti. Metafisica e lettere di San Paolo in duomo giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo da Montecchio. Logica ordinario e mathematica giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo O.S.M. Logica straordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Ventura Cieco. Humanità. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Catanei per insegnare scrivere e albaco. 50, -, -, -
 Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 169, parte seconda, fols. 146r–146v, 151r, 179v; Balia 1038, fols. 87v–88r, 115v–116r, 142r.

1559/60

Messer Giulio Petrucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Biringucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo da Montecchio. Logica ordinario e mathematica giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo O.S.M. Logica straordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Maestro Martino Provinciale in Toscana dell'Ordine dei Carmeliti. Metafisica e lettere di San Paolo in duomo giorni festivi.¹
 Messer Ventura Cieco. Humanità. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Catanei. Grammatica. 50, -, -, -
 Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 170, fols. 122v, 126v, 158r–158v; Balia 1038, fols. 224v–225r, 227r–227v, 249r–249v.

1560/61

Messer Giulio Petrucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -

¹ He was appointed but not paid.

Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Giovanni Biringucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera.²
 Messer Rinaldo Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo da Montecchio. Logica ordinario e mathematica giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Muzio Mattioli da Siena. Logica. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo O.S.M. Logica straordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Ventura Cieco. Humanità. 120, -, -, -³
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Catanei. Grammatica. 50, -, -, -
 Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco.⁴

Sources: ASS, Balìa 171, fols. 50v–51v [for 1559/60?], 206v; Balìa 1038, fols. 301v–302r; Balìa 1039, fols. 9v–10r, 23v–24r.

1561/62

Messer Giulio Petrucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo da Montecchio. Logica ordinario e mathematica giorni festivi.⁵
 Maestro Iacopo O.S.M. Logica straordinario. 20, -, -, -
 Messer Muzio Mattioli da Siena. Logica. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Ventura Cieco. Humanità. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Catanei. Grammatica.⁶
 Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. per la scuola d'Abaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 173, fols. 126r–127r; ASS, Balìa 174, fol. 21r; Balìa 1039, fols. 68v, 88r–88v, 102r–102v.

² He was appointed but not paid.

³ This includes a bonus of 20 fiorini approved by the governor of Siena.

⁴ He was appointed for five months and 20 days from 10 May 1561 with a salary of 100 fiorini per annum.

⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

1562/63

Messer Giulio Petrucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Tolomei da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Agazzari da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia straordinario. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Taddeo da Montecchio. Logica ordinario e mathematica giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Muzio Mattioli da Siena. Logica. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Vincenzo Spinola Provinciale in Toscana dell'Ordine dei Carmeliti. Metafisica e scrittura sacra giorni festivi. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Griffoli da Lucignano. Humanità. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Catanei. maestro di scrivere.⁷
 Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 174, fols. 53v, 63v–64v, 78v–79v; Balìa 1039, fols. 121v, 137v–138r, 147v.

1563/64

Messer Giulio Petrucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Rinaldo Tolomei da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina.⁸
 Messer Alessandro Agazzari da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Bargagli da Siena. Istituzioni civili.⁹
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Cesare Umidi da Siena. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia straordinario.¹⁰
 Messer Muzio Mattioli da Siena. Logica. 35, -, -, -
 Fra Cornelio da Siena O.S.M. Logica. 25, -, -, -¹¹

⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸ He was appointed but not paid.

⁹ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

¹¹ He was only paid part of his salary since he had to attend a chapter meeting.

Maestro Vincenzo Spinola Provinciale in Toscana dell'Ordine dei Carmeliti. Metafisica e scrittura sacra giorni festivi.¹²

Messer Iacopo Griffoli da Lucignano. Humanità. 175, -, -, -

Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -

Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -

Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -

Maestro Bernardo Catanei. Maestro di scrivere.¹³

Giovanni di Puccio di Lombardia, maestro di scrivere e d'albaco.¹⁴

Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 174, fols. 156v–157v; Balìa 175, fols. 29v, 39v; Balìa 1039, fols. 167r, 183v–184r, 198v–199r.

1564/65

Messer Giulio Petrucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -

Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -

Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -

Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -

Messer Alessandro Agazzari da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -

Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -

Messer Girolamo Bargagli da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -

Messer Agnolo Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -

Messer Girolamo Turchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -

Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -

Messer Niccolò Forteguerra da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -

Messer Iacopo Ciogni. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -

Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -

Maestro Cesare Umidi da Siena. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -

Maestro Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario.¹⁵

Messer Agnolo da Arezzo. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -

Messer Muzio Mattioli da Siena. Filosofia straordinario.¹⁶

Fra Cornelio da Siena O.S.M. Logica.¹⁷

Messer Lelio Marretti. Logica. 25, -, -, -

Messer Iacopo Griffoli da Lucignano. Humanità. 175, -, -, -

Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -

Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -

Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -

Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere.¹⁸

Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 175, fols. 53v–54v; Balìa 1040, fols. 4r–4v, 14r–14v, 23r–23v.

¹² He was appointed but not paid.

¹³ During his illness, he was to be replaced by Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. No payments to either man are recorded.

¹⁴ He was paid for four months' teaching from 15 February 1564 at the rate of 100 fiorini per annum.

¹⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁸ He was appointed but not paid.

1565/66

Messer Giulio Petrucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Agazzari da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Turchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili.¹⁹
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerri da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Virginio Turamini da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Giorgi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Marcello Docci. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Cesare Umidi da Siena. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Agnolo da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio Marretti. Logica. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Humanità. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -
 Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 175, fols. 131v–132v; Balìa 1040, fols. 47v–48r, 59v–60r, 65v–66r.

1566/67

Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Agazzari da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerri da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Virginio Turamini da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Cesare Cosimi. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -²⁰
 Messer Marcello Manni da Siena. Istituzioni civili.²¹
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Istituzioni civili.²²
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Cesare Umidi da Siena. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -

¹⁹ He was appointed but not paid.

²⁰ He gave eight lectures and then died.

²¹ He was appointed but not paid.

²² He was appointed but not paid.

Maestro Agnolo da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -,
 Messer Lelio Marretti. Filosofia straordinario. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Pauletti da Montalcino. Logica. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Humanità. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Preti reformati. Grammatica. 70, -, -, -
 Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 176, fols. 45r–46r, 94v; Balìa 1040, fols. 89r–89v, 100r, 114v–115r.

1567/68

Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Agazzari da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera.²³
 Messer Girolamo Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ascanio Santi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Virginio Turamini da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Squarci. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Cesare Umidi da Siena. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Agnolo da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia straordinario e logica. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Humanità. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Preti reformati.²⁴
 Messer Camillo Scrano. Grammatica. 52, 4, 26, 8.²⁵
 Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 176, fols. 131v–132r; Balìa 1040, fols. 136v–137r; Balìa 1041, fols. 10v–11r, 18r.

1568/69

Maestro Deodato da Siena O.S.A. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -

²³ He was appointed but not paid.

²⁴ They were appointed but not paid.

²⁵ He appears to have been appointed during the academic year.

Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ascanio Santi da Siena. [Istituzioni civili o diritto civile straordinario della sera?] 35, -, -, -
 Messer Virginio Turamini da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Giorgi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fausto dei conti d'Elci. Istituzioni civili 25, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Cesare Umidi da Siena. Medicina pratica. 100, -, -, -²⁶
 Maestro Agnolo da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. [Filosofia straordinario e logica?]. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Humanità. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Scrano. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 177, fols. 68v–69v; Balìa 1041, fols. 45v–46r, 59v–60r, 68r.

1569/70

Maestro Deodato da Siena O.S.A. Teologia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Agnolo Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ascanio Santi da Siena. [Istituzioni civili o diritto civile straordinario della sera?] 35, -, -, -
 Messer Virginio Turamini da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fausto dei conti d'Elci. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Ciro Salvini. Istituzioni civili. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Veri da Siena. [Medicina ordinario?] 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. [Filosofia ordinario?] 100, -, -, -

²⁶ Following his death in 1569, the remainder of his salary was paid to his heirs.

Maestro Agnolo da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. [Filosofia straordinario e logica?] 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. [Filosofia?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Claudio Dantini da Siena. [Filosofia?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio Turi da Siena. [Logica?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Forteguerri da Siena. [Logica?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Humanità. 175, -, -, -
 Maestro Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Camillo Scrano. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Abbaco. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 177, fols. 134r–135r; Balìa 1041, fols. 85r–85v, 97r–98r, 113v–114v.

1570/71

Maestro Deodato da Siena O.S.A. Teologia a hore XX. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario nella 3 hore della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera alle 21 hora. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera alle 21 hora. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerri da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Virginio Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fausto dei conti d'Elci. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Romolo Lunadori da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Emilio Borghesi da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario da mattina doppo la campana. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Veri da Siena. Medicina pratica ordinario della serra hore 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario a hore 22. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria a hore 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Claudio Dantini da Siena. Logica da mattina alla 3^a hora. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Flaminio Turi da Siena. Logica da mattina alla 3^a hora. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Forteguerri da Siena. Logica da mattina alla 3^a hora. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo da Cortona O.S.M. Metafisica nella 3 hora della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Humanità. 175, -, -, -
 Maestro Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Camillo Scrano. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 178, fols. 66r–66v; Balìa 1041, fols. 136v–137v, 149r–149v, 157v–158r.

1571/72

Maestro Deodato da Siena O.S.A. Teologia a hore 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario nella 3 hora della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglienti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera alle 21 hora. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera alle 21 hora. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Virginio Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -²⁷
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Cosci da Siena. [Istituzioni civili?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Ottaviano del Taia da Siena. [Istituzioni civili?] 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario da mattina doppo la campana. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Veri da Siena. Medicina pratica ordinario della serra hore 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario la mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria a hore 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Claudio Dantini da Siena. Logica della mattina alla 3^a hora. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Bartolomeo Forteguerra da Siena. Logica da mattina alla 3^a hora. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo da Cortona O.S.M. Metafisica nella 3 hora della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. in Humanità. 175, -, -, -
 Maestro Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Ser Giovan Battista prete. Grammatica. 80, -, -, -
 Fra Sisto da Siena O.F.M. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 178, fols. 123r, 124r, Balìa 1041, fols. 183r–183v; Balìa 1042, fols. 7v–8r, 17r–17v.

1572/73

Maestro Deodato da Siena O.S.A. Teologia a hore 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario hore 3. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglienti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -

²⁷ He only received part of his salary as he missed six lectures.

Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Istituzioni civili nella 2 hora dela mattina. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Cosci da Siena. [Istituzioni civili?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. [Istituzioni civili?] 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina ordinario da mattina doppo la campana. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Veri da Siena. Medicina pratica ordinario della serra hore 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario la mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria a hore 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Claudio Dantini da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo da Cortona O.S.M. Metafisica nella 3 hora della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. In humanis literis de sero hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Maestro Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Ser Giovan Battista prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere.²⁸
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 179, fols. 42r–43r; Balìa 1042, fols. 39v–40r, 48v–49r, 60r–60v.

1573/74

Maestro Deodato da Siena O.S.A. Teologia hora 22^a. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario hora 3^a. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 700, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21^a. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21^a. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Silvio Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -²⁹
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dario Sozzini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Marco Antonio Cosci da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -³⁰
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -³¹
 Messer Achille Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22^a. 100, -, -, -³²
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 21^a. 35, -, -, -

²⁸ He was appointed during the academic year at the rate of 80 fiorini per annum.

²⁹ His appointment has him teaching ‘della sera’; payment of his salary has him teaching ‘della mattina’.

³⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

³¹ He was paid by the grace of the grand duke.

³² He was appointed but not paid.

Messer Claudio Dantini da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 3^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro da Figino O.F.M. Logica della mattina hora 3^a. 25, -, -, -³³
 Maestro Filippo da Cortona O.S.M. Metafisica della mattina hora 3^a 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. In humanis literis de sero hora 22^a. 175, -, -, -
 Maestro Vittorio Cerratti. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Livio Martini. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 179, fols. 101v–102v; Balìa 1042, fols. 79r–80r, 88v–89v, 97r–97v.

1574/75

Maestro Desiderio da Corregio O.F.M. Teologia hora xxii^a. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario hora 3^a. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario vespertino. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima.
 787^{1/2}, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21^a. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21^a. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Forteguerra da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dario Sozzini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Francesco Buoninsegni da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22^a. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario vespertino hora. 70, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Claudio Dantini da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 3^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Milandrone. Logica della mattina hora 3^a. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Filippo da Cortona O.S.M. Metafisica della mattina hora 3^a 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. In humanis literis hora 22^a. 175, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Agnolo Vannuzzi. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Grati. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 179, fols. 164v–165v [formerly 163v–164v]; Balìa 1042, fols. 116r–116v, 127v–128r, 135v–136r.

³³ He was appointed but not paid.

1575/76

Maestro Piero da Venezia O.F.M. Teologia ore 22. 80, -, -, -³⁴
 Messer Adriano Malavolti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario ora 3^a. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario a ore 22. 35, -, -, -³⁵
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina alla prima ora. 787½, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina alla prima ora. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera a ore 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera a ore 21. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina alla 2^a ora. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina alla 2^a ora. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dario Sozzini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina alla 2^a ora. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera a ore 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera a ore 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Istituzioni civili della mattina ora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina ora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. [Istituzioni civili della mattina ora 4^a?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina alla prima ora. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera a ore 22. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina alla 2^a ora. 90, -, -, -
 Maestro Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera a ore 21. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Claudio Dantini da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera a ore 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Cosimo Biringucci da Siena. Logica della mattina ora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Fra Iacopo Calicasa da Trapani O.C. Logica della mattina ora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Alessandro da Siena O.S.A. Metafisica della mattina ora 3^a 60, -, -, -³⁶
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Lettere romane la sera a ore 22. 175, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Calderini da Arezzo. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Agnolo Vannuzzi. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 180, fols. 46r–6v; Balìa 1042, fols. 155v–156v, 162r–162v, 172r–172v.

1576/77

Maestro Piero da Venezia O.F.M. Teologia hora xxii. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario hora 3^a. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario hora xxii. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 787½, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora xxi. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora xxi. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina alla 2^a ora. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -

³⁴ He did not teach during the second third of his contract but he was still paid.

³⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

³⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

Messer Dario Sozzini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -³⁷
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4^a. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora xxi. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Claudio Dantini da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora xx. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Cosimo Biringucci da Siena. Logica della mattina hora iiii. 25, -, -, -³⁸
 Fra Leonardo da Siena O.S.A. Logica della mattina hora iiii. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Alessandro da Siena O.S.A. Metafisica della mattina hora 3^a 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores de sero hora xxii^a. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Casini prete. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Agnolo Vannuzzi. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 180, fols. 120v–121v; Balìa 1042, fols. 189r–189v; Balìa 1043, fols. 3v–4r, 13r–13v.

1577/78

Maestro Piero da Venezia O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Gismondo Zannettini da Bologna. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 787^{1/2}, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio Manni da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Imperiale Cinuzzi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 95, -, -, -

³⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

³⁸ He was appointed but not paid.

Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 95, -, -, ⁻³⁹
 Maestro Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 60, -, -, ⁻⁴⁰
 Maestro Claudio Dantini da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Cosimo Biringucci da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Fra Leonardo da Siena O.S.A. Logica della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, ⁻⁴¹
 Maestro Alessandro da Siena O.S.A. Metafisica della mattina hora 3^a 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Leonardi da Bologna. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia.
 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 180, fols. 175r–176r; Balia 1043, fols. 33r–33v, 43v–44r, 53v–54r.

1578/79

Maestro Piero da Venezia O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, ⁻⁴²
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora
 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio Manni da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, ⁻⁴³
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Imperiale Cinuzzi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, ⁻⁴⁴
 Messer Emilio Ugurgeri da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, ⁻⁴⁵
 Messer Girolamo Mandolo Piccolomini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, ⁻⁴⁶
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, ⁻⁴⁷
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 95, -, -, -

³⁹ He only received part payment since he missed twenty-six lectures.

⁴⁰ He only received part payment since he missed twenty-six lectures.

⁴¹ He only received part payment since he missed thirty lectures.

⁴² He was not paid the final third of his salary. He was absent as he had been appointed to the capitanato.

⁴³ He was appointed but not paid.

⁴⁴ He was appointed but not paid.

⁴⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

⁴⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

⁴⁷ He gave only four lectures during the final third of the academic year. He was absent as he had been appointed to the capitanato.

Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 95, -, -, ⁻⁴⁸
 Maestro Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 60, -, -, ⁻⁴⁹
 Maestro Claudio Dantini da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Cosimo Biringucci da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, ⁻⁵⁰
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Alessandro da Siena O.S.A. Metafisica della mattina hora 3^a 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Leonardi da Bologna. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 181, fols. 42v–43v; Balìa 1043, fols. 72r–72v, 85r–86r, 92v–93r.

1579/80

Maestro Clemente Tommasini da Firenze O.F.M. Teologia hora 22.⁵¹
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Manno Cosci da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, ⁻⁵²
 Messer Gian Domenico Buoniusi. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardo Malavolti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Sergardi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Scipio Benvoglianti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 95, -, -, -

⁴⁸ He appears to have been replaced by a Messer Iacopo O.S.M.

⁴⁹ He appears to have been replaced by a Maestro Francesco da Spagna O.S.A.

⁵⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

⁵¹ He was appointed during the academic year at the rate of 80 fiorini per annum.

⁵² He was appointed but not paid.

Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Claudio Dantini da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Logica della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Livonio Rettori. Logica della mattina hora 4. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Lalicata O.C. Metafisica della mattina hora 3^a. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Leonardi da Bologna. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia.
 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 181, fols. 107v–108v; Balia 1043, fols. 114r–115r, 128r–129r, 137v–138r.

1580/81

Maestro Clemente Tommasini da Firenze O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 2. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della mattina hora 3.
 35, -, -, -⁵³
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora
 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora
 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Sergardi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Cesare Ugurgieri da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -⁵⁴
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Metello Bichi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Lunadori da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -⁵⁵
 Messer Evandro Benvoglianti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, -

⁵³ He was appointed but not paid.

⁵⁴ He was appointed but not paid.

⁵⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 3. 25, -, -, ⁻⁵⁶
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Claudio Dantini da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, ⁻⁵⁷
 Messer Livonio Rettori. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Iacopo Lalicata O.C. Metafisica della mattina hora 3^a 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Leonardi da Bologna. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia.
 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 181, fols. 170r–171v; Balìa 1043, fols. 166r–166v, 177v–178r, 191r–192r.

1581/82

Maestro Clemente Tommasini da Firenze O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, ⁻⁵⁸
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3.
 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Celso Bargagli da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21.
 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2.
 35, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora
 2. 35, -, -, ⁻⁵⁹
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Sergardi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -

⁵⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

⁵⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

⁵⁸ From January 1582 he was replaced by Maestro Iacopo Lalicata O.C.

⁵⁹ He only taught until 22 December 1581.

Messer Cesare Ugurgieri da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶⁰
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Metello Bichi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Lunadori da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶¹
 Messer Evandro Benvoglianti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fausto Amaroni da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶²
 Messer Adriano Guasti. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶³
 Messer Fortunio Salvini. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶⁴
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 95, -, -, ⁻⁶⁵
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Livonio Rettori. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Logica della mattina prima della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Adriano Moreschini da Arezzo. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶⁶
 Maestro Orazio Franco. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶⁷
 Maestro Iacopo Lalicata O.C. Metafisica della sera hora 21. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Leonardi da Bologna. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia.
 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 182, fols. 61v-63r, 116r; Balìa 1043, fols. 210r-211r, 223r-223v, 232v-233v.

1582/83

Maestro Clemente Tommasini da Firenze O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 80, -, -, - Diritto civile. 80, -, -, ⁻⁶⁸
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -

⁶⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶¹ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶² He was appointed but not paid.

⁶³ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶⁴ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

⁶⁸ On 20 Dec. 1582 he was appointed to teach civil law.

Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Sergardi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Cesare Ugurgieri da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, ⁻⁶⁹
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Metello Bichi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, ⁻⁷⁰
 Messer Simone Lunadori da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, ⁻⁷¹
 Messer Evandro Benvoglianti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fausto Amaroni da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, ⁻⁷²
 Messer Adriano Guasti. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, ⁻⁷³
 Messer Fortunio Salvini. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 95, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 95, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Livonio Rettori. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Logica della mattina prima della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Adriano Moreschini da Arezzo. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Orazio Franco. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁷⁴
 Messer Iacopo Frediani prete. Logica. 25, -, -, ⁻⁷⁵
 Maestro Agostino da Arezzo O.S.M. Metafisica della sera hora 21 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Domenico Leonardi da Bologna. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 182, fols. 132v–134r, 141v–142r; Balìa 1043, fols. 351v–352r; Balìa 1044, fols. 3v–4r, 13v–14r.

⁶⁹ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷¹ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷² He was appointed but not paid.

⁷³ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷⁴ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷⁵ He was appointed on 20 Dec. 1582.

1583/84

- Maestro Francesco da Siena O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Sergardi da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Simone Lunadori da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Evandro Benvoglianti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -⁷⁶
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Cesare Ugurgieri da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -⁷⁷
 Messer Fausto Amaroni da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -⁷⁸
 Messer Adriano Guasti. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Aquilio Santi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -⁷⁹
 Messer Ottavio Spannocchi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Paolo Massani. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -⁸⁰
 Messer Claudio Serafini. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 2. 25, -, -, -⁸¹
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Biringucci da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -

⁷⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷⁸ He was appointed but not paid.

⁷⁹ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸¹ He was appointed but not paid.

Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Livonio Rettori. Filosofia straordinaria della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, ⁻⁸²
 Maestro Agostino da Arezzo O.S.M. Metafisica della sera hora 21 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Logica della mattina prima della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Adriano Moreschini da Arezzo. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Orazio Franco. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, ⁻⁸³
 Messer Iacopo Frediani prete. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Rossi. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 182, fols. 212r–214r; Balia 1044, fols. 33r–33v, 40r–40v, 50r–50v.

1584/85

Maestro Francesco da Siena O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Sergardi da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, ⁻⁸⁴
 Messer Simone Lunadori da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Annibale Ciani da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, ⁻⁸⁵
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Guasti. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -

⁸² He was appointed but not paid.

⁸³ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸⁴ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

Messer Fortunio Sensi. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Petrucci da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -⁸⁶
 Messer Lelio del Taia da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Sergardi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Ennio Ghini. [Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Turno Pinocci da Siena. [Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Augusto [Tandi?] Istituzioni civili della mattina hora 19. 25, -, -, -⁸⁷
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Cosimo Biringucci da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Andrea Bartolucci da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2.⁸⁸
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Agostino da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Logica della mattina prima della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Adriano Moreschini da Arezzo. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Frediani prete. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -⁸⁹
 Maestro Antonio da Proceno O.F.M. Metafisica della sera hora 21 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Battista Grati prete. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -⁹⁰
 Messer Bernardino Rossi. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -⁹¹
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Ventura Fondi notaio. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 184, fols. 65v–67r; Balia 1044, fols. 67r–68r, 76r–76v, 82r–83r.

1585/86

Maestro Francesco da Siena O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Sergardi da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -⁹²
 Messer Simone Lunadori da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -⁹³
 Messer Ottavio Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Panfilo Colombini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -⁹⁴
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 55, -, -, -

⁸⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸⁸ He was appointed but not paid.

⁸⁹ He was appointed but not paid.

⁹⁰ He died in March 1585 and was replaced by Messer Bernardino Rossi.

⁹¹ He was replaced in March 1585 by Messer Giovan Francesco Alberti.

⁹² He was appointed but not paid.

⁹³ He was appointed but not paid.

⁹⁴ He was appointed but not paid.

- Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -⁹⁵
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Guasti. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Sensi. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Augusto Petroni. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -⁹⁶
 Messer Pietro Pallagrossa. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Odorigo Palmieri. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Alberto Venturini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Pomponio Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio del Taia da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Sergardi da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Turno Pinocci da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Ennio Ghini. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fabio Ballati da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -⁹⁷
 Messer Piero Ballati da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -⁹⁸
 Messer Luca Rossi. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lodovico Accarigi da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fedro Nelli. [Istituzioni civili hora 19?] 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzio Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -⁹⁹
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Adriano Moreschini da Arezzo. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Agostino da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Fortunio Cinughi da Siena. Filosofia straordinario della mattina al suon della campana. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 105, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Frediani prete. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -¹⁰⁰
 Maestro Antonio da Proceno O.F.M. Metafisica della sera hora 21. 60, -, -, -

⁹⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

⁹⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

⁹⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

⁹⁸ He was appointed but not paid.

⁹⁹ He was only paid part of his salary since he missed three lectures.

¹⁰⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. *Ad literas humaniores* hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Rossi. *Grammatica per il terzo di Città*. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Alberti detto il poetino. *Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino*.
 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. *Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia*.
 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Livio Martini. *Maestro di scrivere*. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. *Aritmetica*. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 184, fols. 131v–133v; Balìa 1044, fols. 100r–100v, 111r–112r, 119v–120v.

1586/87

Maestro Francesco da Siena O.F.M. *Teologia* hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. *Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina* hora 3. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. *Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina* hora 3. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. *Diritto canonico ordinario della sera* hora
 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. *Diritto canonico ordinario della sera* hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Spannocchi da Siena. *Diritto canonico straordinario della sera* hora 20.
 35, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. *Diritto civile ordinario della mattina* hora prima. 200 scudi.
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. *Diritto civile ordinario della mattina* hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. *Diritto civile ordinario della mattina* hora prima. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. *Diritto civile ordinario della sera* hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. *Diritto civile ordinario della sera* hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. *Diritto civile ordinario della sera* hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. *Diritto civile ordinario della sera* hora 21. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Marretti. *Diritto civile straordinario della mattina* hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. *Diritto civile straordinario della mattina* hora 2^a.
 35, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Guasti. *Diritto civile straordinario della mattina* hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio del Taia da Siena. *Diritto civile straordinario della sera* hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. *Diritto civile straordinario della sera* hora 20. 35, -, -, -¹⁰¹
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. *Diritto civile straordinario della sera* hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Sensi. *Diritto civile straordinario della sera* hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Sergardi da Siena. *Diritto civile straordinario della sera* hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Luca Rossi. *Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana*. 25, -, -, -¹⁰²
 Messer Odorigo Palmieri. *Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana*. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Alberto Venturini da Siena. *Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana*.
 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Nebbi. *Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana*. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Turno Pinocci da Siena. *Istituzioni civili* hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Ennio Ghini. *Istituzioni civili* hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lodovico Accarigi da Siena. *Istituzioni civili* hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Pietro Pallagrossa. *Istituzioni civili* hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Pomponio Tolomei da Siena. *Istituzioni civili* hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. *Medicina teorica della mattina* hora prima. 100, -, -, -

¹⁰¹ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁰² He was appointed but not paid.

Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, ¹⁰³
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, - Logica. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 60, -, -, -
 Maestro Agostino da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 105, -, -, -
 Maestro Fortunio Cinughi da Siena. Filosofia straordinario della mattina al suon della campana. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Frediani prete. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, ¹⁰⁴
 Maestro Cipriano Casolani da Siena. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Agostino d'Elci O.P. Metafisica della sera dopo filosofia ordinaria. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Rossi. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, - Messer Giovan Francesco Alberti. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Livio Martini. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -
Sources: ASS, Balìa 184, fols. 171v–172r, 191r–192v; Balìa 1044, fols. 143r–144r, 154v–155v, 164r–165v.

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Maestro Francesco da Siena O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Camillo Bronconi da Siena, canonico. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 55, -, -, ¹⁰⁵
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 55, -, -, ¹⁰⁶
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 200 scudi.
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Ippolito Carlo Piccolomini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -

¹⁰³ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁰⁴ He was appointed but not paid. He was replaced by Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli, see above.

¹⁰⁵ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁰⁶ He was appointed but not paid.

- Messer Lelio del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Sergardi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Guasti. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Fortunio Sensi. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -¹⁰⁷
 Messer Lodovico Accarigi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Pietro Pallagrossa. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Odorigo Palmieri. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Pomponio Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Nebbi. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Turno Pinocci da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Ennio Ghini. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -¹⁰⁸
 Messer Alberto Venturini da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Mariano Sozzini da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -¹⁰⁹
 Messer Nicodemo Forteguerri da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fedro Paccinelli da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Agostino da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario della mattina hora 2. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 105, -, -, -
 Maestro Fortunio Cinughi da Siena. Filosofia straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Cipriano Casolani da Siena. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Vittorio Manni da Siena. Logica della sera hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Agostino d'Elci O.P. Metafisica della sera dopo filosofia ordinaria. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Mancini da Siena. Anatomia o chirurgia giorni festivi della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Leonardo Ghini da Cortona. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Rossi. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, - Messer Alfonso Stefani. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Pieri clerico. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Dionigi Gori da Siena. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balìa 184, fols. 247v–248v; Balìa 1044, fols. 187v–188v, 201r–202v, 207v–208v.

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- Maestro Simone Messio O.F.M. Teologia hora 22. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Dionigi Tantucci da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 60, -, -, -

¹⁰⁷ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁰⁸ He was appointed but not paid.

¹⁰⁹ He was appointed but not paid.

- Messer Polibio Finetti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Alberti da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Cerretani da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Galgano Fondi da Siena. Diritto canonico ordinario della sera hora 22. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Ottavio Spannocchi da Siena. Diritto canonico straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Iacopo Angeli da Barga. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 260 scudi.
 Messer Achille Santi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Filippo Buoninsegni da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della mattina hora prima. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Girolamo Benvoglianti da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 200, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Borghesi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Placidi da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro Turamini da Siena. Diritto civile ordinario della sera hora 21. 55, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Marretti. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Accarigi da Macerata. Diritto civile straordinario della mattina hora 2^a. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Lelio del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Orazio Sergardi da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 2^a. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Alessandro del Taia da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 50, -, -, -
 Messer Turno Pinocci da Siena. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Adriano Guasti. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Ennio Ghini. Diritto civile straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Lodovico Accarigi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Pietro Pallagrossa. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -¹¹⁰
 Messer Odirigo Palmieri. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Pomponio Tolomei da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -¹¹¹
 Messer Girolamo Nebbi. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Curzio Borghesi da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Alciabiade Lucarini da Siena. Istituzioni civili della mattina al suon della campana. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Alberto Venturini da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Nicodemo Forteguerri da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Fedro Paccinelli da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Lepido Maccabruni. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -
 Messer Tiberio Borghesi da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -¹¹²
 Messer Augusto Manni da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -¹¹³
 Messer Pirro Forteguerri da Siena. Istituzioni civili hora 19. 25, -, -, -¹¹⁴
 Messer Lorenzo Lenzi da Siena. Medicina teorica della mattina hora prima. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Crescenzo Landi da Siena. Medicina pratica della sera hora 22. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Seleuco Benvoglianti da Siena. Medicina straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Livonio Rettori. Medicina teorica straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -

¹¹⁰ He was appointed but not paid.

¹¹¹ He only received part of his salary as he had missed some lectures.

¹¹² He was appointed but not paid.

¹¹³ He only received part of his salary as he had missed some lectures.

¹¹⁴ He only received part of his salary as he had missed six lectures.

Messer Livio Landi da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Sallustio Lombardelli da Siena. Medicina straordinario della sera hora 20. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Giugurta Tommasi da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della mattina. 100, -, -, -
 Maestro Agostino da Arezzo O.S.M. Filosofia ordinario della mattina. 60, -, -, -
 Messer Niccolò Finetti da Siena. Filosofia ordinario della sera hora 21. 105, -, -, -
 Maestro Fortunio Cinughi da Siena. Filosofia straordinario della mattina hora 3. 35, -, -, -
 Maestro Cipriano Casolani da Siena. Logica. 25, -, -, -
 Maestro Vittorio Manni da Siena. Logica. 25, -, -, -¹¹⁵
 Maestro Adriano Moreschini. Semplici. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Giulio Mancini da Siena. Anatomia o chirurgia giorni festivi della mattina hora
 3. 35, -, -, -
 Messer Giovan Francesco Alberti da Siena. Ad literas humaniores hora 22. 175, -, -, -
 Messer Diomede Borghesi da Siena. Lingua toscana. 40, -, -, -
 Messer Bernardino Rossi. Grammatica per il terzo di Città. 100, -, -, -
 Messer Alfonso Stefani. Grammatica per il terzo di S. Martino. 80, -, -, -
 Messer Francesco Ceccopieri da Massa di Carrara. Grammatica per il terzo di Camollia.
 80, -, -, -
 Mario Rinieri da Colle. Maestro di scrivere. 80, -, -, -
 Maestro Giuliano Capanini. Aritmetica. 100, -, -, -

Sources: ASS, Balia 1044, fols. 234r–235r, 243v–245r, 251v–253r.

¹¹⁵ He only received part of his salary.

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- Descrizione del magnificenti[ssimo] apparato. e de' maravigliosi intermedii fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle felicissime nozze degl'illustrissimi... signori il signor don Cesare d'Este, e la signora donna Virginia Medici*. Florence, 1585.
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